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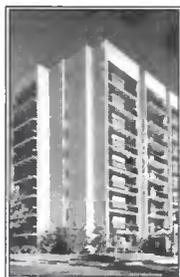
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Why We Support Constructive Dissent

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

On June 22, AFSA presents annual awards for significant contributions to diplomacy and the Foreign Service, and also for constructive dissent. This year we are particularly pleased to honor career diplomat David Newsom for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. Ambassador Newsom served 34 years in the Foreign Service. He was ambassador to Libya, Indonesia and the Philippines, assistant secretary for African affairs, under secretary for political affairs, and interim secretary of State in 1981. His career focussed on many of this nation's toughest foreign policy issues, and he has continued to contribute since retirement by teaching and writing about diplomacy.

AFSA's best known awards, those for constructive dissent, are unusual and deserve special mention. The traditional culture of diplomacy does not readily support dissent. Challenges to policy and management are not encouraged — for strong reasons. Diplomacy requires strong service discipline; and stressful Washington and overseas environments make cohesion within the ranks very important. Also, the Foreign Service demands adaptability. Overseas, Foreign Service personnel and families must adapt to different cultures and living conditions. In Washington, the service must energetically serve changing political leaders.

Marshall P. Adair is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

*Dissent is not a
traditional value
within the
diplomatic corps.*



Yet, diplomacy does require the ability and willingness to assess situations free of the fetters of conventional wisdom. The job of diplomats is not just to carry out policy, but to develop information and counsel policy-makers. These responsibilities will lead occasionally to differences, and even serious disagreement, things which most leaders, career Foreign Service or political, try to prevent. Going beyond traditional Foreign Service norms requires the ability and willingness to think and act with unusual integrity and independence. AFSA's awards seek to reward those who do, and to encourage those who might.

In 1984, AFSA gave the Rivkin Award for constructive dissent to Tex Harris. Tex had been assigned in 1981 to the U.S. embassy in Buenos Aires, and was tasked with reporting on human rights issues. At the time, the embassy believed the violence and widespread disappearances there were a result of conflict between out-of-control extremist left and right-wing groups in Argentine society,

rather than the work of the government. However, Tex interviewed thousands of Argentines and observed patterns indicating the government was indeed responsible. As he reported his findings to Washington, the embassy became increasingly uncomfortable with the implications those reports had for bilateral relations, and sought to restrict them. Tex resisted, and subsequently received a strongly critical efficiency report. That report identified him for possible selection out and blocked his promotion opportunities, in spite of the fact that later years proved he had been right, and U.S. policy on the issue was reversed.

In 1984, AFSA recognized Harris' efforts with the Rivkin award. That brought him to the attention of Bill Moyers, who did a profile of his work on TV and generated an outpouring of criticism from around the nation. Tex's file was reviewed, and material deemed to be impermissible was taken out. He was promoted, and many years later even received the department's Distinguished Honor Award for his work. This year, Tex Harris' work receives another accolade, in the form of a new award, in his name, to recognize constructive dissent by Foreign Service specialists, an award category long overdue.

Constructive dissent is a hallmark of our American Foreign Service, and increasingly an accepted part of the policy process. AFSA is honored to serve this nation by recognizing those who have fulfilled this most unusual and important responsibility. ■



DESPATCH

A Chill Wind in Washington

By BOB GULDIN

I knew something strange was going on when all the mailboxes disappeared.

Six days before the much-feared April 16-17 demonstrations against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the postal dropboxes disappeared overnight from Washington's downtown core. News media explained that this would prevent possible bombings.

The District of Columbia was thus giving notice: These demonstrators would not catch D.C. off guard as Seattle had been in December during protests against the World Trade Organization.

As April 16 and 17 approached, the D.C. police, in coordination with federal agencies, took a number of extraordinary measures:

■ Police barriers appeared around the IMF and World Bank buildings, blocking vehicle and pedestrian access.

■ The transit authority shut the Metro station nearest the IMF.

■ On April 15, police and fire officials raided a Washington warehouse that demonstrators had been using as a headquarters. Finding fire code violations, they sealed off the building, cleared everyone out, and seized literature and signs.

In a city where residents are often allowed to live for years in dangerous and condemned buildings, this level of attention to fire code enforcement was truly remarkable. Executive Assistant Police Chief Terrance Gainer

Bob Guldin is the editor of the Foreign Service Journal.

*Demonstrators met
with harassment
and preemptive
strikes.*



explained that the city was motivated solely by the "obligation to protect the kids," but he added, "It was to our delight that it did discombobulate them and to the extent that it threw them off balance, that was helpful too."

■ On the evening of April 15, police arrested more than 600 demonstrators near the IMF and World Bank. The protesters were peaceful but did not have a permit to march.

According to the *Washington Post* account, the police "said the demonstrators had refused an order to vacate the street." However, "protesters and even tourists who witnessed the event said not only did the police fail to order people to disperse, but they also prevented those who wanted to leave from doing so."

Tactically, the police move was clever: It took 600 protesters out of commission for much of April 16, the first day of large demonstrations. But it was also a sharp break with the Washington tradition of allowing peaceful demonstrations to proceed while maintaining order and traffic flow.

■ On Sunday, April 16, police set up

a wide cordon of barriers making it especially difficult for pedestrians to reach a large legal demonstration on the Ellipse.

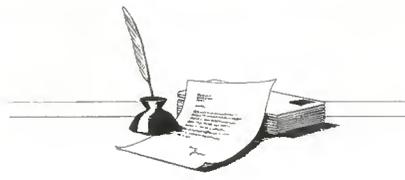
■ On Monday, April 17, Washington took on a surreal, deserted look. More than 70 downtown blocks were closed to traffic. Federal buildings, including State, Treasury, Interior and GSA, were closed, as were many private employers, including AFSA.

Ironically, the exaggerated police response to the protests — shutting down much of the city — caused much greater economic and social impact than 10,000 protesters themselves could ever have accomplished.

In the wake of the protests, city leaders congratulated themselves on a job well done. Said Police Chief Charles Ramsey, "It's a win-win for everybody. The bank was able to meet. The protesters were able to express their views ... and we were able to maintain peace."

The truth, however, is that Washington "maintained peace" by compromising a great tradition — the First Amendment right to peaceably assemble. In shutting down a center for dissident activity, arresting peaceful demonstrators and barricading much of the city center, the District of Columbia attempted, successfully, to create a chilling effect on free expression.

As readers of the *Journal* know, harassment and preemptive strikes are tactics used by rulers around the world against opposition movements. The American people, and their nation's capital, deserve better than that. ■



LETTERS

The Heroes of USAID

Thank you for carrying the story of USAID employees in Vietnam ("The Heart and Mind of USAID's Vietnam Mission," April 2000). We will never know the full extent of their exploits and sacrifice, but this account helps.

On the other hand, we do know that many who returned from Vietnam were treated shabbily by the U.S. government. Using very narrow technical codes and ignoring due process, hundreds of USAID employees back from Vietnam were summarily RIFed, i.e., fired. It was a bloodletting of the first order that I will never forget.

The *Journal* does us a great service by telling this story of former comrades and their extraordinary contributions during a very difficult time in Southeast Asia and a sad period in our history.

John A. Patterson
Rhode Island state
senator

Former USAID FSO and
AFSA vice president
North Kingstown, R.I.

The Foreign Service Journal welcomes your signed letters to the editor. Please mail letters to the Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037; fax to (202) 338-8244; or send via e-mail to journal@afsa.org. Letters, which are subject to editing, should include full name, title and post, address and daytime telephone number.

Vietnam: The Two Wars

Vietnam/CORDS veterans will get great satisfaction from the recent book, *A Better War* by Lewis Sorley. He argues that the pacification war, in which State, CIA and USAID officers served, was effectively won by late 1970. Many of the reviewers of Sorley's book have not understood that there were two wars — the guerrilla war and the conventional war — and have questioned his conclusions.



Ben Fishman

As someone who first served at district level and later traveled all over Vietnam as an evaluator with the Pacification Studies Group in 1970, I agree with Sorley's conclusions—that the land and people were fairly secure from what little was left of the Viet Cong. Certainly, the North Vietnamese Army was waiting in sanctuary to test the

South Vietnamese when U.S. forces left, but we will never know whether the South would have been able to hold off the North had we stood by the commitments Henry Kissinger negotiated to get us out of the war.

Because we overly concentrated on the conventional war, we came to the CORDS/pacification solution somewhat late. It is ironic that while we were sure we could win the conventional war, we finally gave it up, and while we were not at all sure we could win the guerrilla war, we did.

Alfred R. Barr
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

A Balanced Issue

As DCM-minister and occasional chargé in Saigon in 1963 and 1964, I was especially pleased by and interested in your April Vietnam issue.

While most of us associated with Vietnam run the risk of a modification of views in retrospect when the folly of both our strategy and engagement tactics became clear, those FSOs who wrote for the issue certainly did a balanced and accurate job in recounting their experiences and beliefs at the time. Congratulations to you and them.

David G. Nes
FSO, retired
Owings Mills, Md.

Early Aid to Vietnam

I found Marc Leepson's, "The Heart and Mind of USAID's Vietnam



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LETTERS

Mission" a valuable contribution to the history of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. I quarrel, however, with the beginning of his chronology. Leepson states, "U.S. assistance to South Vietnam pre-dated the establishment of USAID by some six years, beginning shortly after the nation came into being in May 1954. The International Cooperation Administration and the Development Loan Fund, which had been created to implement the Marshall Plan in post-World War II Europe and then to administer similar economic assistance to other regions, jointly administered the program."

American non-military aid to Vietnam began not in 1955, but in late 1950 and was administered by USAID's first predecessor agency, the Economic Cooperation Administration. It was ECA, not its successor ICA, that administered Marshall Plan aid to Europe. ECA opened its first special technical and economic mission (STEM) in 1950 in Vietnam under late Mission Director Robert Blum. At the time Vietnam was recognized by the United States as a fully independent nation under chief of state Bao Dai, and was a member of the Associated States of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam and a member of the French Union.

I am sure of this earlier economic assistance to Vietnam because I transferred from ECA in Paris to Saigon in April 1951. STEM established branch offices in Phnom Penh, Vientiane, Hanoi and eventually Hue. I served in Hue as STEM special representative for Central Vietnam from early 1953 through the summer of 1954 — after the Geneva Accord had been signed and Ngo Dinh Diem had come to power in South Vietnam.

I plan to travel to Vietnam again next year to celebrate the 50th

anniversary of my first arrival in Saigon as a member of the economic assistance team.

*Richard C. Matheron
Retired ambassador
Escondido, Calif.*

Rebuilding Lives

I was gratified to see an issue devoted to Vietnam and particularly CORDS, where I spent a couple of years. I particularly appreciated Leepson's article. When I participated in CORDS in 1969 and 1970, I felt strongly that we were making a great mistake by taking farmers off the land and placing them in refugee camps. I then placed emphasis on rebuilding their former lives and getting them the implements to get restarted. Various military units, including the First Marine Division and the 101st Airborne, gave me great help in these endeavors once they saw its advantages.

I've written some of these experiences in the December 1996 issue of *American Diplomacy*, which can be found in the archives of www.americandiplomacy.com.

*Carl R. Fritz
USAID, retired
Chapel Hill, N.C.*

Lesson in the Parable

In his April letter to the editor, the crusading zeal of the Rev. Theodore L. Lewis blinds him to the point of my parable in the *Journal's* February issue: The effort to import Bibles into Afghanistan was not only doubly illegal, under both the constitution of Afghanistan and American law (misuse of diplomatic mail to smuggle in forbidden matter), but, more importantly, endangered the lives of Americans and other Europeans in the country, as anyone with knowledge of Afghan history can attest.

Additionally, the would-be importer was in Afghanistan under

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LETTERS



false pretenses, having entered it as an English teacher employed by an official body, but with the secret intention of breaking Afghan law. He was not a missionary, as Lewis mistakenly believes, but a private individual well aware that what he was doing was illegal and dangerous, but intent nonetheless on doing it.

Lewis's misreading of what I wrote calls to mind Matthew Henry's gloss of Jeremiah 5:12: "None so blind as those that will not see."

*R. T. Davies
Retired ambassador
Silver Spring, Md.*

Pathetic Complainers

Regarding the December and February issues, in which the questions of quitting and bad management were discussed: It's hard to say which group is more pathetic — the kids who quit, or those who say, "There is bad management but *I* am going to hang in there and somehow fix it." I can only say three things for sure about both groups: That they do not like some management decisions; that they are willing to air their disapproval in public, regardless of the consequences; and that they don't know how very well State's management is regarded by private industry, academia, and other U.S. government agencies.

The *Journal* should try to remember that it is not a high school newspaper that prints unchecked gossip. You can be certain that the December article's unquestioned allegations of mismanagement will resurface at appropriations hearings and that it will be billed as "what the *Foreign Service Journal* wrote."

*Thomas K. Wukitsch
FSO, retired
Rome ■*



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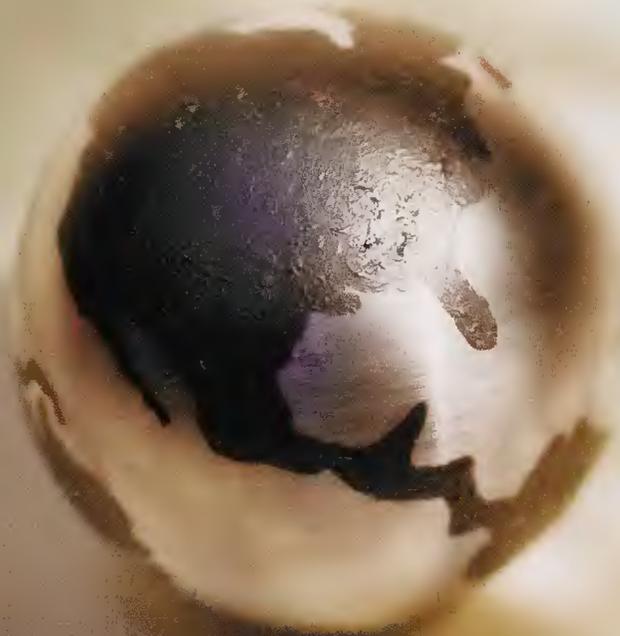
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CLIPPINGS



"The missing laptop is the latest in a long string of security failures at the State Department. It is obvious that the Department lacks a professional environment that is sensitive to security concerns."

REP. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, APRIL 18

GAO SAYS EMBASSY SECURITY LAGGING

The U.S. General Accounting Office warned in March that the State Department is at least a year behind schedule in upgrading overseas buildings and anti-terrorist equipment, the *Los Angeles Times* reported April 26.

The GAO report did acknowledge that since the August 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the department has used \$1.5 billion in emergency funds to reinforce walls, build blast barriers and otherwise shield many of America's 262 overseas facilities. It has also hired and trained at least 4,000 local guards and undercover agents at 154 posts. As David Carpenter, assistant secretary for diplomatic security, points out, "We are trying to be as aggressive as we can outside the embassy walls as we are inside, without offending the host government."

However, retired Adm. William Crowe, who headed the panels that studied the bombings in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, complained that the administration is not taking necessary measures. "I'm not satisfied," Crowe told *L.A. Times* reporter Bob Drogin. "They're not doing what they need to do."

Among other things, Crowe criticized the State Department for spending \$50 million to apply shatter-resistant film, like mylar, to embassy windows. Crowe called instead for stronger frames and specially laminated glass, which are admittedly much more expensive.

"In Africa, the killer was glass," Crowe said. "Nearly everyone was killed by slivers of glass. Mylar doesn't stop something like that."

The problem of terrorism has not abated. State has logged more than 3,000 threats or potential threats to overseas diplomatic targets in the last 18 months — double the previous rate. "We've had threats on every continent," said Carpenter.

But State has made significant improvements since the 1998 bombings. The department has come up with plans to reinforce walls and build blast barriers, and has hired Sandia National Laboratory to research even stronger protections.

Almost every overseas post is getting bomb detection equipment, light armored vehicles, and X-ray machines for scanning suspicious packages. About 20 posts have bought or rented nearby properties — including an entire city street in Budapest — to create buffer zones.

In Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, construction of new, heavily fortified facilities is under way. But among seven other "high-risk" embassies and consulates, only Doha, Qatar, has moved to safer quarters; the other six are still in various planning stages.

In Istanbul, one of the posts considered high-risk, Turkish police last June shot and killed two men carrying pistols and a shoulder-held anti-tank rocket launcher into a building across the street from the U.S. consulate. "The pair were later identified as members of a local leftist group," the *L.A. Times* reported.

Though the GAO report says that State's projects are behind schedule and over budget, Assistant Secretary of State for Administration Patrick F. Kennedy defended the department's construction program. "The GAO's figures are wrong," Kennedy told the *Times*.



CLIPPINGS

DETAILS EMERGE ON VOA BIAS

As reported in last month's "Clippings," the federal government agreed March 22 to pay a record \$508 million to settle a sex discrimination suit filed in 1977 by 1,100 women against the Voice of America and its former parent agency, the U.S. Information Agency. Writing in the April 17 *Washington Post*, reporter Michael Fletcher reveals new details of just how pervasive those practices were at VOA.

Donna De Sanctis came to VOA with a doctorate and five years' experience at Vatican Radio but was offered only a part-time freelance position. Once on board, she applied for every full-time slot that came open, but consistently received only a form rejection letter. At one point, she was even passed over for an internship in favor of William A. Marsh, the son of a senior VOA manager, whose only previous work experience had been as an office clerk and a waiter at a Chi-Chi's restaurant. The head of the selection panel later recalled in court that the senior Marsh was "probably my best friend."

Rita Rochelle Hunt, a veteran radio and television personality, ran into similar roadblocks every time she applied for an opening. Despite her experience, VOA would hire her only as a temporary, part-time radio host, a job she did for 13 years, purportedly because she lacked a "broadcast quality" voice and had failed the entrance exam. Only as the lawsuit unfolded did she learn that she had actually passed the test with flying colors.

Fletcher observes that much of the discrimination was invisible to the victims, but it was a moment of blatant bias that got the case started. Applying for a magazine writer's job, Carolee Brady Hartman was

told directly by a USIA editor that "we do have a position opening up, but we are looking to fill it with a man." Remarkably, USIA and VOA officials consistently denied the allegations of discrimination for 23 years, pursuing a futile string of appeals that only stalled the case's resolution while inflating the eventual settlement cost.

THE LAPTOP VANISHES

Sometime in early April, a laptop computer containing sensitive compartmented information (also known as "codeword" intelligence) disappeared from a supposedly secure 7th floor conference room in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. A senior Department official said it remains unclear whether the thief realized the sensitivity of the material the computer contained or took it simply for the value of the hardware.

The *Washington Post* notes that last year, State's Office of the Inspector General criticized INR for lax handling of top-secret and codeword material, and recommended transferring that responsibility to the Diplomatic Security Bureau, which already handles all information with lower levels of classification. After this latest incident, Albright implemented that recommendation and reassigned the directors of two offices involved with the computer. She also held a "town meeting" May 3 to emphasize her commitment to security.

Congress, which earlier this year sequestered some funding earmarked for INR until State reviewed its procedures for handling top-secret data, announced it would hold hearings in May on the subject of security procedures at State.

50

YEARS AGO

"The opportunities for a Stuffed Shirt in a consulate are endless and delightful. He has the entire public to admire him and the entire public is at his mercy. On the other hand, a diplomatic officer must make a real effort to have contact with and be appreciated by a wider public. (But) his shirt will be partially stuffed with smug satisfaction that his mode of life would be caviar to the lowly public."

FROM AN ANONYMOUS
SATIRE, "THE WELL
STUFFED SHIRT,"
IN THE JUNE 1950
JOURNAL



CLIPPINGS

“He passes through life most securely who has least reason to reproach himself with complaisance toward his enemies.”

— THUCYDIDES

ATWOOD: STOP APPEASING HELMS

Speaking in Boston April 5, former USAID Director J. Brian Atwood did not mince words about the administration’s handling of long-time nemesis Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. According to the April 6 *Boston Globe*, Atwood said the administration “should have known better” than to attempt to appease Helms: “He is opposed to the United Nations. He is opposed to international engagement.”

Atwood, who now works on international development issues for Joseph P.

Kennedy II’s Citizens Energy Corp., also charged that the Clinton administration has generally traded away its leadership in foreign policy without anything to show for it. However, he declined to criticize any administration officials by name, possibly because he is likely to be offered a top diplomatic post if Vice President Al Gore captures the White House in November.

Even though Helms blocked his nomination as ambassador to Brazil last year, Atwood still said: “I respect Sen. Helms a great deal. He is a man of his word. His position has been known for years, and he has never changed that position.” ■

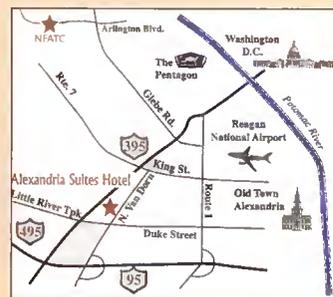
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SPEAKING OUT

The Personnel Horror Show

BY ROGER JOHNSON

Having been in the Foreign Service for nine years, I have one constant complaint that has never been addressed. Why does the Office of the Under Secretary for Management, Bureau of Personnel provide such poor customer service? This department affects all Foreign Service employees, regardless of rank or specialty and is responsible for all personnel-related duties in the State Department, for both the Foreign Service and the Civil Service. In the performance of these duties, however, customer service seems to be a very low priority.

I have personally experienced the following examples of poor treatment from personnel:

■ My very first Personnel Audit Report, which summarizes career information and is used by both tenure and promotion boards, was incorrect in several areas, including the college I attended, my state of legal residence and my scores on language aptitude tests. Though logically these things should have been easily to correct, it took four years of constant work on my part to finally correct them.

■ My military service needs to be "bought back" for retirement purposes. In order for my military service to apply toward my State Department pension, I have to pay State for the amount that would have been set aside during my military service. You can pay the additional sum at any time during your career, but if you wait more than two years to begin payments, annual interest accrues.

*It has now been
14 months since
I first tackled the
subject and there
is no end in sight.*



I was informed about how much I owe by the retirement office and was told that I would be sent a form letter with instructions on how to begin the payment process.

For several months after this, nothing happened, so I sent an email to DGDirect, the director general's complaint service. There seemed to be movement with a flurry of e-mails and seemingly renewed interest, but it was a false alarm. It has now been 14 months since I first tackled the subject and there is no end in sight. In the meantime, annual interest continues to accrue.

A Non-random Sample

In some ways I have been lucky. At least I have gotten responses on most of my problems. Others have only been able to obtain information and get action after threatening to file grievances or take their complaints to the Office of the Inspector General. While most of the evidence I offer is anecdotal, it supports my theory that

poor customer service from Personnel is the rule, not the exception.

Here, in their own words (edited for brevity) is my unscientific, worldwide, informal survey of personnel horror stories:

■ "The Department of Defense certainly had its problems with administrative paperwork, but the Department of State, so far, has proved far worse."

■ "It took six months to get an answer from personnel about health benefits for FSNs. The delay meant that we had to sign an extension to benefits (for FSNs) for twice the price."

■ "I have tried repeatedly to correct gross errors and deletions from the personnel record, twice from overseas, and once while assigned to the State Department. I provided the same documentation three times and was assured that the changes would be made. Did that happen? No. I've given up."

■ "It took me 21 months to get my wife on my medical insurance. The first time, personnel claimed they never received the paperwork. Next, something was wrong. I don't remember the third excuse."

■ "I married a foreign national and was availing myself of expeditious naturalization. My paperwork disappeared and, to date, has never surfaced. As a result, we were forced to start over again, and my wife had to stay behind in the United States when the State Department insisted that I go to post without her."

■ "I sent a cable to the retirement



office in Personnel asking for a retirement package. One, two months passed and no word. I again requested the same package. Another month passed with no response. To this day, I haven't received a response. If my retirement counsel had e-mail, I would ask what was happening, but they are smart. No e-mail address means no bothersome queries from Foreign Service personnel."

■ "When I joined the Foreign Service, I was offered a starting grade of FS-5, Step 5, at a salary of \$36,281 per year. Well after my security and medical clearances were completed, I received a letter rescinding the previous offer and offering a grade of FS-6, step 6, at a salary of \$33,407, a difference of \$2,874 a year. Since I had already burned all my bridges, I accepted. When I asked AFSA to research the situation, they were told that it was a 'clerical error.'"

Lost Messages

■ "As a new hire, I presented my military service certificate so that I could qualify to receive six hours of annual leave per pay period, instead of the usual four hours of leave. My first Earnings and Leave Statement gave me only four hours. Inquiries indicated that my certificate had not been processed. My post personnel officer kept checking, calling, faxing and cabling Personnel. However, the matter was still not resolved when my first assignment was over. Back in Washington for training and consultations, it took me several calls until I finally reached the person who was supposed to do these kinds of corrections. She asked me who transferred the call to her, then asked me to wait a minute. In the background, I could hear her "telling off" her co-worker for passing my call to her. After I described my problem, she informed me that she no longer handled these problems and transferred me to the

My post personnel officer kept checking, calling, faxing and cabling Personnel.

"proper" number — which turned out to be Arms Control. Finally, after going through a friend-of-a-friend, I was able to get the problem resolved. It took 51 pay periods."

■ "I had much trouble signing up for the Thrift Savings Plan, since I had already been a contributor while working for another government agency. The person I dealt with in Personnel told me, 'This is a low priority for me.' It took almost a year to get this corrected and I'm still not sure if I have received all the matching contributions I should have."

■ "One guy in my new hire class had his paycheck being sent to somebody in Texas who was no relation to him whatsoever."

■ "I was trying to buy back my military service time. I sent the paperwork to the retirement office by certified mail, but never received the receipt back. Personnel said they never received it. I gave them a copy and they said to come back in two weeks. Two weeks later they said that I was in the wrong retirement system and needed to talk to my recruiter. I e-mailed my recruiter, who deleted the message without reading it. Later, the recruiter said that my profile was wrong in the computer and that it would not take corrections. Finally, six months after I started to try and clear up the mess, I was put into the proper retirement system. No one knew what happened to the money that had been paid into the other retirement system. I now needed to

know how much to pay into the proper retirement system at State. The retirement people in Personnel told me they would look into it and send me a letter, but they were 'busy with other retirements.' A month later the retirement person in Personnel would not accept my calls or see me in person. I sent an e-mail to that person's boss, who never answered. After much more grief, 11 months after I began to clear up the mess, I finally got a letter saying my military time had been credited to my State Department retirement."

■ "I was scheduled to transfer in September, but did not get my orders until Aug. 29, in spite of repeated telegrams and e-mails to personnel. I had only four days to pack my household and airfreight shipments and arrange for transportation of my family, which included a two-year-old child. I later found out that if I had missed the first day of my class in Washington, D.C., I would have been considered responsible."

What Customer Service?

I'm no expert, but customer service from State's Office of Personnel is poor, to say the least. There seem to be two main causes:

First, there is no concept of customer service in the bureau. Personnel in Personnel give the distinct impression that they are doing you a favor by doing their jobs. That is why it is so difficult, if not impossible, to get even a simple response to a simple question.

Second, there is no one to help with troubleshooting when there are problems. When an issue gets stuck in the bureaucracy, there is no one to turn to for resolution. When two different offices in Personnel disagree about who is responsible, for example, the issue will languish for months. If e-mailing DGDirect is supposed to help resolve problems,

SPEAKING OUT



the address is a well-kept secret (FYI, the address is *dgdirect@state.gov*). And even if employees do discover it, appealing through this channel is a hit or miss proposition, as I have discovered.

There are two main areas where poor customer service from Personnel hurts the State Department: employee retention and ICASS, International Cooperative Administrative Support Services, which allows other government agencies to "buy" administrative services, such as personnel services, when they operate overseas.

If State doesn't care enough about its employees to provide them with basic personnel services, then it certainly doesn't care about retaining them. I believe that by doing so

much to lower morale, Personnel is responsible for low employee retention. Personnel's participation in ICASS makes the entire State Department and personnel offices at posts look bad. When other agencies are forced to wait several months for personnel actions, they rightly get a negative impression of State.

What can be done?

■ AFSA should make this a priority issue. First, it should collect as many horror stories as possible to prove that poor customer service from Personnel is the rule, not the exception. It should then push to have Personnel change its bureaucratic culture to a customer service culture.

■ Personnel should develop a troubleshooting entity to assist

employees whose issues get bogged down in the bureaucracy. This should be widely advertised and include whistleblower protection so that employees need not fear retribution. Hopefully, this would be used less, as customer service attitudes become more ingrained in Personnel.

■ State Department employees should stop accepting the status quo. As long as all of us, including post administrative and personnel officers, tolerate shabby treatment by Personnel, it will continue. Individually we cannot change this situation, but together we might have a chance. ■

Roger Johnson is an information management specialist assigned to Manila.



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THE IDENTITY CRISIS OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY



ARE EMBASSIES TO BE FORTRESSES, CULTURAL LANDMARKS OR SIMPLY OFFICES? THE ANSWER IS UP FOR GRABS.

By JANE C. LOEFFLER

It should come as no surprise to Foreign Service professionals that most Americans have no idea what embassies do or why they are important. Two examples illustrate this point: When architecture students were asked to plan the reception area for a U.S. embassy last fall, one young man presented drawings of an embassy lobby that included a fully-equipped bar complete with stools. His rationale was that “happy hour” was a time for embassy personnel and their guests to unwind and that the lobby area was ideal for this purpose. The students seemed baffled by the question of who would enter the embassy or what sort of business might occur there. Second, when a group of Midwesterners recently toured Italy’s soon-to-open embassy in Washington, they listened attentively but appeared clueless as to what the building was for. “Maybe treaties?” one man suggested.

Buildings that proclaim a nation's identity to the world should not be so misunderstood. This is a problem for those who recognize their importance as symbols and also for those who work in them. With security shaping every aspect of embassy architecture, U.S. foreign buildings are undergoing a profound identity crisis. Once celebrated as emissaries of openness and optimism, they now convey a mixed message — pride coupled with apparent indifference, assertiveness fused with fear.

With every disaster there are calls for more draconian provisions aimed at averting another tragedy, like the bombings in East Africa on Aug. 7, 1998. But in the rush to provide needed security, there has been little time to assess how the threat of terrorism is affecting America's overseas identity or to examine the crucial question: Are openness and security mutually exclusive? When technical analysts, such as structural engineers and blast experts, take over key embassy planning decisions, there is less focus on the larger picture of presence, and also less focus on the quality of the workplace environment and those who use it.

Many factors combine to establish America's diplomatic presence, but none is more tangible than the size and prominence of embassy buildings — targets of anger and frustration precisely because they are such evident symbols of foreign presence and feared influence. A high-visibility post can be one that operates out of a splendid old palace in the midst of downtown, such as the former Schoenborn Palace in Prague (acquired by the United States government in 1925). It can also be one that operates out of a heavily fortified compound on the outskirts of town, such as the embassy in Sanaa, Yemen, constructed in the late 1980s in the aftermath of terrorist bombings in Beirut. Unfortunately, the same visual cues that convey the key democratic ideals of openness and accessibility can transmit vulnerability, while those that convey strength and impenetrability can transmit aloof-

***Most Americans are
clueless regarding
what embassies
actually do.***

ness, anxiety, and an absence of goodwill. The lack of fit between an embassy's "personality" and its purpose as a quasi-public building means that the American presence becomes more schizophrenic as it becomes more defensive.

Before the 1960s, architects barely considered security as a design constraint. During the 1950s, in fact, the State Department's Office of Foreign Buildings Operations commissioned glass-walled buildings that were instantly identified with the openness of democracy. Like huge roadside billboards, consulates in Germany and chanceries in Stockholm and Copenhagen advertised America as a nation that was future-oriented and proud of its artistic achievement and technological know-how. Without realizing it, modernists Walter Gropius (Athens), Eero Saarinen (London), and John Johansen (Dublin) became practitioners of public diplomacy.

With sidewalk access to libraries and exhibition spaces, these buildings welcomed the public and declared a positive, if often flamboyant, presence. Likewise, historic properties in Rome, Prague, and Paris, purchased and carefully restored by the State Department, demonstrated U.S. commitment to the life of those cities. But in the 1960s and '70s, with the Vietnam War and continuing conflict in the Middle East, U.S. embassies and other facilities around the world increasingly came under attack.

By the 1980s, fences, electronic locks, surveillance equipment, high walls, and remote locations came to define U.S. embassies as zones of fear. The threat of terrorism drastically altered America's overseas identity. In the aftermath of terrorist bombings in Beirut in 1983, FBO adopted stringent new security rules. Those rules came to be known as the Inman standards, after Adm. Bobby Ray Inman, who headed the panel that authored the 1985 report calling for sweeping changes in embassy location and design. For new construction, standards mandated a security setback of 100 feet from streets or passing vehicles, sites of 15 acres or more, locations far from downtown (almost essential when 15 acres were required), and reduced use of glass (defined as a maximum window-to-wall ratio of 15 percent). Advocating complete U.S. control of its overseas properties, Inman recommended replacing or renovating

Jane C. Loeffler is a historian who writes on architecture, planning and public policy. She is the author of The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies (Princeton Architectural Press, 1998). In 1998, she received the Secretary's Open Forum Distinguished Public Service Award from the State Department.

buildings at 126 posts within seven years.

Neither Congress nor the administration was prepared to pay for Inman's visionary scheme, nor was the State Department prepared to turn its back overnight on its history. The Inman proposal was flawed because it treated all posts the same, overlooking fundamental differences among them. It did not consider the ramifications of abandoning or ruinously modifying priceless properties worldwide or wholesale relocation of most key posts from prime locations to sites farther from the city centers where most government business is transacted. It was too grandiose to win sustained support. Moreover, terrorism quickly faded as a pressing public concern. FBO built imposing walled compounds in Sanaa, Nicosia, San Salvador, Santiago, Amman, Caracas, Kuwait, Lima, Bangkok, and Singapore. But no one was certain how to reconcile security with history in places with existing embassies, like London or Rome, or new capitals, like Berlin.

The Inman standards were aimed primarily at protecting the lives of those within embassy buildings. It is hard even to suggest that any other factor should figure in planning the American presence overseas, but embassy workers are not always inside a given building, and like everything from medical procedures to military operations, diplomacy involves risk. Following the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr. chaired two accountability panels for the State Department. His report reaffirmed the value of

*The soaring modern
architecture of
embassies in the 1950s
was a form of public
diplomacy.*

the Inman standards, but noted that the standards themselves had been undermined by exceptions granted to existing properties and acquisitions. The Crowe report also stated that the United States must not allow terrorists to force it to retreat from its interests abroad. But Crowe himself, in an interview with the author, expressed dismay at the thought that the London

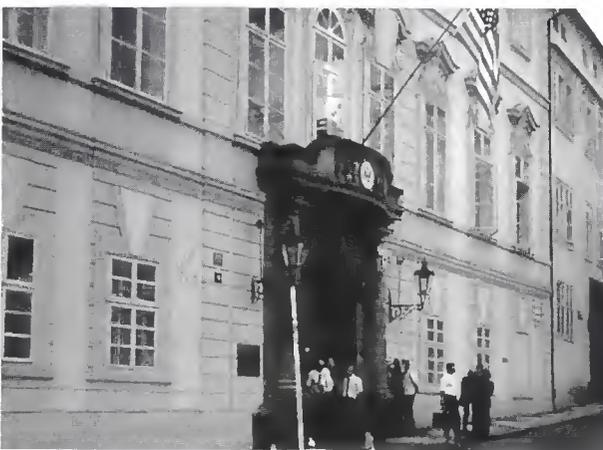
embassy might someday be forced to move from its prominent location. The fact that he served there as ambassador undoubtedly helps him to appreciate the significance of its Grosvenor Square site.

Clearly, it would be a mistake to overreact to fear and hastily abandon invaluable locations and landmarks long recognized as assets to U.S. diplomacy. Philip C. Wilcox, Jr., former coordinator for counterterrorism at the State Department, describes the Jerusalem consulate/residence as one such property. A mansion built in the Ottoman Turkish style in the 1870s, it is "an ornament" to the United States, Wilcox says, and a place that people love to visit. Also a member of Crowe's accountability board for Nairobi, Wilcox questions the notion of universal standards. "Some buildings of great historic value are treasures to be preserved," he says. "We can afford to make exceptions to the Inman standards where environmental factors combine to minimize risk and host governments and their law enforcement and intelligence services have a proven record against terrorism."

The Ottawa Exception

Such an exception made it possible to build the new embassy in Ottawa, where setback requirements were waived in order to use a site directly across from Canada's Houses of Parliament. Bordered on two sides by busy streets, the site did not provide a 100-foot setback, but it was a prize too good to pass up. With the Canadian embassy located at the foot of Capitol Hill in Washington, it seemed right to try to find a design that would permit use of the prominent site.

FBO hired David Childs of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill; Childs designed an attractive and well-fortified building, proving that openness and security are not mutually exclusive. According to the architect, the central atrium of the embassy is its most "spectacular" feature, filled with bright light that bounces off walls paneled in



Jane C. Loeffler

Bohemian Beauty: Embassy Prague, purchased in 1925, is a carefully restored Baroque palace.

Canadian maple. Ambassador Gordon Giffin hosted President Clinton when they dedicated the building in November 1999, and he is proud of his new workplace. "You just feel good in the building," he says. "The appearance of a building is part of the means by which you relate to the host city, the host government, and the people of the host country. Security ought to be the primary consideration, but not the sole consideration."

Where security is the sole consideration, buildings are closed, absent of civic context, remote, and publicly inaccessible. Compared to other buildings, they require more materials and consume more energy. Their sealed windows admit little light and no fresh air, and their thick walls reduce interior space. Parking is limited and increased surveillance leads to diminished privacy. That may be fine for a penitentiary, but not for an embassy.

A Symposium Assesses Balance

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., has always advocated the civic importance of public architecture. He speaks for many when he proclaims "openness" a cherished democratic ideal and decries its absence from public buildings, including embassies. Last November in Washington, hundreds gathered to hear Moynihan and architects, security experts, ambassadors, federal judges, and government officials address a symposium on "Balancing Security and Openness." Credit for the program goes to Under Secretary of State for Management Bonnie Cohen and Public Buildings Service Commissioner Robert Peck (General Services Administration) who recognize that government buildings at home and abroad share a common concern for security. Just bringing together the two giant landlords, State and GSA, was a major accomplishment. More than that, it was a beginning of a much needed dialogue on what architect Frances Halsband aptly described as the coming "collision between our values and our fears." That collision, she noted, is reflected in our public architecture. (Halsband is one of three distinguished architects who serve terms of varying length on FBO's Architectural Advisory Board, which reviews designs submitted to FBO by architects. FBO hires outside architects for major capital projects and also for renovations and upgrades, making an effort to select them from across the country.)

The Inman standards were flawed because they treated all posts the same.

In Washington, where Pennsylvania Avenue near the White House is closed to traffic as a security precaution, there is legitimate concern about "security overkill." The November symposium succeeded best as a forum to air that concern. It represented a strong repudiation of what Moynihan called the "fortress society," and was

the first serious effort since the mid-1950s to examine the link between design and diplomatic goodwill.

Ambassador Barbara Bodine expressed mixed feelings about the fortress-embassy in Sanaa where she lives and works, a compound located a half-hour's drive from town and distant from all other embassies. Its isolation was intended to provide a security advantage, but two recent kidnapping attempts, she said, are evidence that embassy employees face added risk when they make long trips to and from work. And imprisoning them within the compound, she warned, produces "lousy diplomats."

Speakers at the symposium differed in their tolerance for risk and differed, too, on definitions of openness. In his remarks, Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security David Carpenter said, "Our embassies should express the values of the United States. We want effective security, and we want openness." He called on the design community to help reconcile these apparent opposites. Architects responded with examples. David Childs, for one, explained how the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 forced him to revise his plans for a glass-walled atrium at Ottawa. He moved the atrium to the interior but retained the "openness" of the exterior by retaining the exterior wall of glass and inserting behind it a concrete blast wall punctuated by regular-size windows. Designers like Childs equate openness with transparency.

Others define openness as functionality — equating it, for example, with accessibility and efficient service. Under Secretary Cohen underscored this point when she expressed dismay over the fact that people who wait in long lines to enter embassies, such as in the Dominican Republic, frequently assume that the wait is "an expression of America's foreign policy," a calculated effort to keep borders closed. She emphasized the department's determination to make posts more user-friendly through improved design and better management.

The symposium was an affirming experience for many and the start of a useful exchange among architects and



Raul Alferez for the United States Embassy, Ottawa.

An attractive glass front on the new U.S. embassy in Ottawa actually conceals a concrete blast wall.

their government clients. But it was unsettling to some Foreign Service officers who faulted architects for being unfamiliar with embassy operations, and also to representatives from businesses that benefit from public anxiety. At least one security equipment manufacturer, for example, heard the call for openness as a rationale for less security.

But the preponderance of architects did not prompt discussion of the peripheral role that architects actually play in public policy-making. When Adm. Crowe says, "The last person you should let tell you how to design a secure building is an architect," as he did in a recent interview, he points to a profound suspicion of a profession that has done a poor job of advocating its expertise.

Delays Cause Confusion

Moreover, Crowe's doubt points to long-standing mistrust of FBO, the office that has to design and build costly, long-term projects, barely knowing from year to year how risk will be measured, if urgently needed projects will be funded, or how politics or crises may cause priorities to shift. For example, plans for a new embassy in Tunis have been in the works for 14 years. At last, with a green light to go ahead, FBO has retained American architect Tai Soo Kim, who is designing the project in association with Tunisian architect Weissem Ben Mahmoud. The job will go out

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for bid by September. Changes in the Bulgarian government interrupted site approval in Sofia and delayed a project that FBO has been trying to build since 1987.

Berlin is another project plagued by uncertainty. FBO held a much-publicized design competition for the new Berlin embassy (selecting the winning design by Moore Ruble Yudell) in 1997, but security concerns have stalled the project, which also languished for lack of ready funds. The superb site, practically adjacent to the Brandenburg Gate, does not meet current specifications for setback. The architects are now "re-scoping" the project, incorporating added security into the design in light of the 1998 bombings in East Africa.

The laborious congressional appropriations process has also become more convoluted. Even after appropriations are made, new legislation now requires FBO to return to Capitol Hill once again to win approval for each project. As one FBO official puts it, "This gives Congress veto power over individual embassy projects

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Embassy Athens has gotten a major facelift, thanks to a U.S. ambassador's efforts.

and creates added bureaucracy." Changes and delays add to cost, and funding uncertainty makes accurate planning or scheduling difficult, if not impossible. FBO takes the blame for the associated inefficiencies, but it has less control of its agenda than most critics suppose.

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A Light Shines in Athens

Making use of existing funds and even private contributions, Embassy Athens provides an example of a post that has worked on its own to increase apparent openness and make itself more welcoming without adding exposure. Things as simple as cleaning the exterior marble, painting the stucco, replacing a jungle of inappropriate hedges and vines with drought-resistant local plants, and turning on a fountain that had been off for years boosted the dignity of the downtown chancery. Despite the throng of anxious visa seekers at the entrance checkpoint, the compound looks surprisingly better than it did less than a year ago.

As Ambassador Nicholas Burns says, "The result is a complete and dramatic change for the better. The building actually gleams once again as it must have when first constructed." When Burns arrived in 1997, he made it his business to improve the look of the property as a way of garnering respect and signaling U.S. respect for Greece. With private funds, he also established a permanent exhibit for the chancery on the U.S.-Greek relationship and commissioned a sculpture of George C. Marshall for the once-again-visible embassy garden.

Upgrading security at a modern glass-walled building like Athens poses special problems. Window film, designed to limit damage from flying glass, will provide added safety. Laminated glass would help more, but it is heavy (and much more expensive). To support it, the building might require a new structural system. Burns and his colleagues in Athens and Washington continue to assess the options, recognizing, as he says, that "this is a question we will face with greater frequency and intensity in the years ahead." In the meantime, American athletes and tourists will be proud to see the U.S. flag waving over the refurbished embassy in downtown Athens when they gather there for the summer Olympics in 2004.

Where embassies are sited within walled compounds on the outskirts of town, visitors will be far less likely to spot the American flag. Hellmuth, Obata + Kassabaum is designing embassies for Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam to replace buildings destroyed by terrorist bombs, and RTKL is designing one for Kampala, where existing conditions are described as "pathetic." Both firms are devel-

*Even Adm. Crowe is
dismayed at the notion
of giving up America's
prominent but
vulnerable London
embassy.*

oping the sites as garden compounds, using landscaping to soften the impact of high-security architecture. For speed and efficiency, these are design/build projects which pair architects with builders and provide FBO with a fixed overall construction price. (The more common practice is to hire the architect and then to solicit construction bids, but until those bids come in, FBO can only guess at what the job will cost.)

Fearing that builders might try to eliminate expensive blast-resistant windows altogether to keep costs within the pre-agreed budget, FBO has stipulated a 20 percent minimum window-to-wall ratio for its new East African embassies, not a maximum as before. Staff and visitors will park more than 100 feet away, outside the perimeter wall at each site. They will enter through a checkpoint, one by one. Ironically, few will see the snappy new signs designed to direct them to various offices because the real problem is most likely to be getting in, not getting lost inside the compound. Despite shaded courtyards inside, visitors are still likely to do most of their waiting on the sidewalk.

Anything that eliminates what one FSO called "the unbelievable human chaos" that surrounds busy checkpoints and consular operations is good for America's overseas presence. Service innovations that convey America's openness include visa applicant appointment systems, the visa waiver program, special user-fee telephone lines for appointments, and courier delivery services that save return visits. Allowing Americans in China to register with the Beijing embassy via the Internet is another way in which an embassy makes itself more accessible. The State Department's Website, in fact, is a point of access that is sure to grow in popularity and usefulness.

Newly established "American presence posts" in France are also designed to provide added access, but not access for everyone. Their primary purpose is to boost commerce. Useful though they may be, they are no substitute for consulates that offered a far wider range of services but have been closed for lack of funding. One- or two-person posts may work in France, but not elsewhere. And while it is assumed that terrorists are only interested in targeting high-profile embassies, that can't be known.

F O C U S

Whether we want to admit it, or not, closed consulates and even long lines do reflect America's reduced commitment to foreign affairs. It is hard to imagine how anyone can reconcile the nation's wealth and its global role with foreign buildings that are so shamefully shabby and insecure. That is not to say that we should build high-profile bastions as replacements: Bombastic design can convey a powerful message, one that obliterates public diplomacy. Security is about more than building stronger or more formidable buildings — it is about providing decent workplaces and residences for diplomats as part of an overall commitment to America's overseas presence. The purpose of that presence is subject to debate, but the absence of commitment produces neglected outposts like the embassy besieged last year by a mob in Beijing.

Because America's foreign buildings are so poorly documented and little known, they are further misunderstood. It is a Catch-22 for the State Department that calling attention to its properties and creating support for them may publicize their vulnerability, along with their

history and architectural distinction. But without public support and understanding and a more vocal constituency, only disasters will fuel the building program.

In its recent report, the secretary of State's Overseas Presence Advisory Panel affirmed the need for "a universal, on-the-ground overseas presence ... more critical than ever to the nation's well-being." "Just when our diplomacy needs to project confidently the values of democracy and open markets," the 1999 report says, "our embassies should not be forced into a more defensive position." The call for openness, in its many dimensions, is not a rationale for vulnerability. To the contrary, it is aimed at understanding how architecture expresses confidence and how America's foreign buildings, in particular, represent political ideals.

Ever more massive and costly U.S. installations are part of a trend that will be hard to reverse. Architecture, like art, reflects the moment. The problem is that buildings are not momentary. They are with us for a long time, and one way or another, they do define our presence. ■

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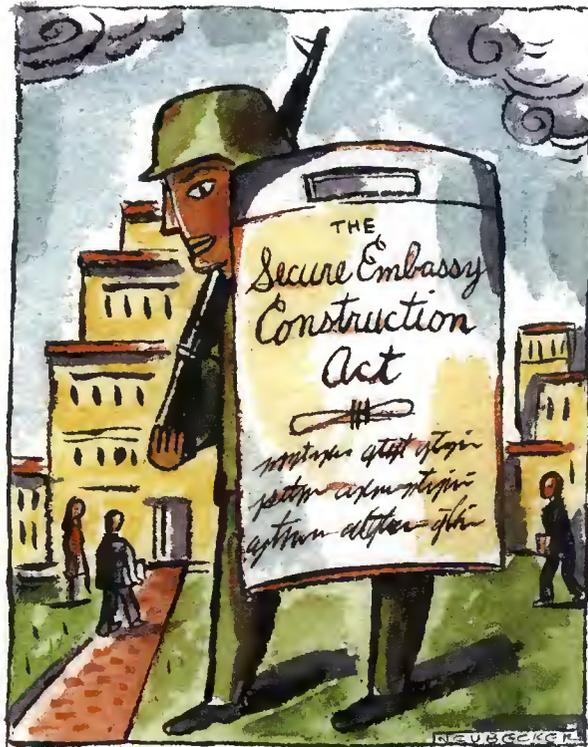


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CONVENTIONAL WISDOM AT STATE
BLAMES LAGGING CONSTRUCTION ON
LOW APPROPRIATIONS. THAT'S NOT TRUE.

BY SENATOR ROD GRAMS

hen embassy security is being given the attention it deserves in Washington, it is likely that a tragedy has occurred. The State Department initiated the Security Enhancement Program in 1980 in response to the increasing frequency of terrorist attacks on embassies, including the hostage taking in Tehran. Five years later, in the wake of three Beirut bombings, the Inman Advisory Panel on Overseas Security made recommendations to overhaul our security framework. We were forced to recognize that our efforts had fallen short when the U.S. embassies in Dar Es Salaam and Nairobi were destroyed by vehicle bombs in August 1998.

In the aftermath of the East Africa bombings, the State Department convened accountability review boards chaired by Adm. William Crowe to examine these two tragic incidents. The Crowe report highlighted that the U.S.

government has placed too low a priority and devoted inadequate resources to security concerns. The panel made it clear that unless the vulnerabilities identified in the report are addressed in a sustained and financially realistic manner, the lives and safety of American employees in diplomatic facilities will continue to be at risk from further terrorist attacks.

The conclusions reached by Adm. Crowe were strikingly similar to those made by another admiral, Bobby Ray Inman, 14 years before. In 1985, the Inman panel identified 126 facilities with inadequate security, including 50 consulates. At the time of the embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, only 49 of the recommended facilities had been built or enhanced to meet the new security standards. Many of the embassies constructed and purchased after the Inman-inspired standards were adopted did not meet those requirements, either. The unfortunate truth is that our overseas government buildings were not vulnerable because we lacked security requirements; they were vulnerable because over three-quarters of those buildings had those requirements waived.

The Money Trail

The Crowe report found that responsibility for obtaining adequate resources for security programs is widely shared throughout the government, including Congress. However, contrary to popular opinion at the State Department, much of the blame for the Inman program's failure does not rest with congressional appropriators, but closer to home. According to State Department officials, Congress appropriated only \$1.2 billion for Inman security enhancements compared with \$3.5 billion suggested by the Inman study. These figures are misleading, however. The State Department at the same time admits it is impossible to specify the amount of past funding linked specifically to Inman recommendations.

Sen. Rod Grams, R-Minn., is the chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is the author of the Secure Embassy Construction and Counterterrorism Act of 1999, which was signed into law.

More than three-quarters of U.S. overseas posts had the Inman requirements waived.

It is far more instructive to examine total State Department spending for security during the period in question. From FY1987 to FY1998, administration requests amounted to \$5.8 billion for security purposes in various State Department accounts. According to a 1999 Congressional Research Service report, Congress' appropriation of \$5.0 billion belies

the contention that Congress abandoned its commitment to Inman recommendations.

Reductions made by Congress often were linked to specific circumstances, such as construction delays. A 1991 General Accounting Office report noted that nearly half the funds appropriated for the program remained unobligated at the end of fiscal year 1990, reflecting delays in entering into the construction phase of projects. The Foreign Building Office's difficulties in effectively using appropriated funds continued. Congress rescinded a combined amount of \$100 million of unobligated funds in the Security and Maintenance of Overseas Missions account in FY1995 and FY1996. While the State Department claims it needed greater resources to achieve the Inman standards, State neither used all of the resources it had been given nor pushed for more to be appropriated.

In fact, the State Department was required to report to Congress about any shortfalls in security funding. Section (401) of the 1986 Diplomatic Security Act (FY86-FY90) states, "In the event that sufficient funds are not available in any fiscal year for all the diplomatic (security) programs, as justified to the Congress for such fiscal year, the Secretary of State *shall report* to Congress the effect of the insufficiency of funds will have with respect to the Department of State and each of the other foreign affairs agencies" (emphasis added). Congress never received such a report.

The Administration's Weak Response

Given that the cornerstone of the Crowe report was the finding that underfunding was in large part responsible for the weaknesses in our security structure at the embassies in East Africa, the administration's initial proposal was shockingly inadequate. The administration asked the Congress to provide for an advance appropriation of \$3 billion over five years. The funding

started in 2001, not the next fiscal year (2000), and the bulk of the money was proposed for the out years. Under the administration's plan, Congress feared we would have been doomed to repeat some of the same mistakes that were made following the Inman recommendations. The funding structure would have made it impossible to achieve efficiencies in embassy construction. There was just not enough funding in the next three years to permit a single contract to design and build an embassy or a single contract to build multiple embassies in a region. Furthermore, the back-loading of the funding meant it could have been a decade before secure embassies were up and running.

Congress decided a more targeted approach was necessary, full of the strings which the executive branch, during negotiations on the final text of legislation, routinely attempts to break. With the FBO's poor record in effectively using resources, Congress was loath to give more funds than could be effectively absorbed. By all accounts, the State Department construction program following the Inman report was plagued by management weaknesses. According to GAO, these shortcomings included "delays in filling authorized staff positions, poor planning for project and budget requirements, and inadequate coordination of site acquisition and other critical parts of the development cycle." As GAO noted, of the 57 projects planned in 1986, only seven had been completed by September 1991. This time, Congress was determined to assert its authority to ensure all the funds designated to meet security concerns actually did so.

Making Security the Law

The result of this effort was my legislation, the Secure Embassy Construction and Counterterrorism Act, which was included in H.R. 3427, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for fiscal years 2000 and 2001, and signed into law in the Consolidated Appropriations Act for FY2000. Many who deal directly with these matters, including those outside Congress, were concerned that the embassy security funds would be tapped for other purposes if legal restrictions were not in place. For instance, as the Senate Report (106-43) to the Foreign Relations

State neither used all the resources it had, nor pushed for bigger appropriations.

Authorization Act stated, "By the early 1990s, as the budget deficit grew and the dissolution of the Soviet Union required the department to open several new posts, the Inman construction program was all but forgotten." As time passes following a tragedy, the impetus for devoting funds of the necessary magnitude to

secure facilities tends to wane.

This legislation makes sure funds appropriated to the Embassy Security, Construction and Maintenance Account are used only for high-priority new construction or major security enhancements needed to bring U.S. diplomatic facilities or posts into compliance with security standards. Funds in the account may only be used for the 80 most vulnerable facilities, as designated by the secretary of State, except under special circumstances. Congress may authorize or appropriate funds for a facility not on the list, most likely in response to the administration's budget request. Also, the secretary may notify the appropriate congressional committees that the department intends to use funds for such a facility (which Congress may put on hold). Flexibility was built into the process because we recognize and support the need to build new facilities in places like Berlin and Beijing, which may not be as vulnerable to terrorist attack as other posts.

While the \$1.4 billion a year recommended by the Crowe Panel encompassed support for all security concerns, the \$900 million a year which was authorized for five years would deal with just construction and major security enhancements. When Adm. Crowe suggested that \$1 billion of the \$1.4 billion should go for that purpose, he noted in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Now, when we submitted that figure we were aware, first of all, that that figure is an estimate made by some people who are not in this business, and ... we would never come to that figure exactly. But we feel that to really correct the problem we need to be in the neighborhood." So even though the Crowe figure was a broad estimate, Congress was unwilling to stray far from that amount. Indeed, the State Department testified it could only absorb \$650 million in the first year.

The security requirements in my legislation reflect some of the lessons that we learned from Nairobi and

Dar Es Salaam. While these requirements might not have prevented lives from being lost in the bombings, they could prevent the loss of life in the future. The Crowe panel found there was an institutional failure on the part of the Department of State and embassies under its direction to recognize threats posed by transnational terrorism and vehicular bombs. From now on, the Emergency Action Plan for each mission will address these threats. In retrospect, it is disturbing that the risks from vehicle bombs were not taken into account in the EAPs for the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, considering those were the kind of bombs used on our facilities in Beirut which sparked the Inman review.

We also were compelled to impose some of the very same security procedures which were supposedly adopted following the Inman report. For example, in 1985, a co-location policy was established which required all U.S. government personnel to be located in the same chancery office building or on a chancery/consulate compound. This policy was put in place to avoid exposing "soft" official targets once the embassies were hardened and to concentrate limited resources on a single office site. However, these guidelines are often ignored. Indeed, after the August 1998 terrorist bombings, in violation of State Department guidelines, USAID headquarters decided not to move its missions in Kenya and Tanzania into the more secure embassy compounds that are going to be built. AID reversed itself only after hearing from the Congress and U.S. officials in Kenya and Tanzania.

Similarly, a requirement for all new buildings to have a 100-foot setback from the property perimeter was put in place in the 1980s following an analysis of the bomb blasts from the Beirut terrorist attacks. While it is acknowledged that a setback is the best way to protect against large vehicular bomb blasts, that requirement was recognized more in its breach. Today, over 80 percent of our embassies do not have a 100-foot setback. Under my legislation this requirement can be waived only by the secretary of State.

Working abroad will never be risk-free. But we can take a number of measures like these to make sure that safety is increased for U.S. government workers overseas. We can also put forward requirements to ensure we have an effective emergency response network in place to respond to a crisis should one arise. The Secure Embassy Construction and Counterterrorism Act requires crisis

management training for State Department personnel, support for the Foreign Emergency Support Team and rapid response procedures for assistance from the Department of Defense

New Threats, New Countermeasures

However, to focus solely on the threats of the past, without preparing ourselves to confront emerging threats, would be an error. Attention also should be given to providing integrated, real-time chemical and biological agent detection and identification to allow personnel to respond appropriately to an attack, minimizing casualties. However, funding for new programs, or for information technology security or Diplomatic Security personnel, cannot be taken from the construction account.

Congress, once again imposing its will through reporting requirements, is compelling the State Department to decide if there are some diplomatic facilities which are so vulnerable they should be closed. The potential for reduction or transfer of personnel or closure of missions if technology is adequately exploited for maximum efficiencies, and the possibility of creating regional missions in certain parts of the world will be explored. It will investigate new ways of doing business, like examining the feasibility of opening new regional outreach centers, modeled on the system used by the U.S. embassy in Paris.

With these steps, I believe we can better ensure a safe environment for U.S. government workers abroad. We can also be confident that should another terrorist attack occur, we will be ready for the aftermath. But there are steps that we should be taking to provide a higher level of security in this age of transnational terrorist threats. Secretary Albright has said that no overseas embassy can be considered a low-threat post. Therefore, we must acknowledge that the world is changing — doing business as usual is not going to work. We need to think outside the box and explore new ways to confront new challenges. I understand that there is a trade-off between security and accessibility. But as Adm. Crowe noted, one of the myths being promoted is that we have open embassies abroad right now. He testified, "We have some embassies that are very open to light, but they are not open to people. We have locked up our embassies the world around." Those who talk about open embassies are harkening back to an era that is long passed. We don't want our facilities to be fortresses, but sacrificing aesthetics may be the price we have to pay to save lives. ■

EYEWITNESS TO TERROR: NAIROBI'S DAY OF INFAMY



Wide World Photo

“W

ON AUGUST 7, 1998, A TERRORIST'S BOMB TURNED A U.S. EMBASSY INTO AN INFERNO. IT COULD HAPPEN AGAIN.

BY LUCIEN VANDENBROUCKE

hat was it like?” That’s a question that survivors of the Aug. 7, 1998, bombing of Embassy Nairobi have faced time and again. The events themselves are easy enough to describe: The terrorists, driving a small truck packed with 2,000 pounds of explosives, drove coolly that morning to their target, located on one of the busiest intersections in downtown Nairobi. They sought to enter the small parking lot abutting the front of chancery, but were turned away by one of the embassy’s Kenyan guards. His orders were strict, and he was thorough: No trucks were allowed in the front parking lot. Try as they might, the occupants of the vehicle could not talk their way in. Frustrated, they drove away.

By standing his ground, that Kenyan guard unwittingly usurped the role of the Fates. Had he let the vehicle

F O C U S

through, the terrorists would have detonated their deadly cargo in front of the embassy, where most of the occupants — including the entire country team, which was gathered in the ambassador's office — would probably have perished. Through his determination, the guard saved most of us in the front of the building, while unknowingly sentencing many of our colleagues in the rear to die.

The truck, having been turned away from the front entrance, inched its way through the congested streets to the back parking lot, only a few meters from the rear chancery wall. The driver pulled up to the barrier controlling access to the embassy's small underground parking lot, hoping to make his way deep into the bowels of the building. If he had gotten in, the bomb would have caused the five-story structure to collapse like a house of cards. His fallback plan was stymied, however, as surely as the original plan. The Kenyan guard manning the entry to the garage refused to let the unauthorized vehicle in. The passenger of the truck jumped out, argued with the guard, and lobbed a grenade into the compound.

The detonation punctuated the din of the street like a thunderclap. A few seconds later, we heard a deafening roar, as if a thousand thunderstorms had struck at once. The driver, seeing his plans unravel in front of his eyes, had chosen to wait no longer. With a flick of a switch, he had blown himself up with his deadly payload. The entire rear of the chancery was torn apart, as if a giant, monstrous hand had clawed off the façade, while an adjacent eight-story building, housing a secretarial college and other offices, collapsed on its occupants. Forty-six employees, both American and Kenyan, died in the chancery, and another 173 Kenyans — with no other connection to the embassy except that they happened to be working or passing nearby — died outside the building. Another 50 employees were injured, as were over 4,000 Kenyans in the buildings and streets around the chancery. The Nairobi bombing was one of

Lucien Vandenbroucke is political counselor at Embassy Nairobi, and was acting DCM at the time of the 1998 bombing. He served previously in Hong Kong, Mauritania and Sudan. He begins a tour this summer as DCM in Algiers.

***We heard a deafening
roar, as if a thousand
thunderstorms had
struck at once.***

the bloodiest terrorist attacks in history. In the embassy alone, almost 50 percent of the occupants were dead or wounded.

A Small Piece of Hell

The rough outline of what happened is easy to relate, but how can one render the texture of the events? All those who lived through the bombing own their own piece of the hell that called on us that day — a compound of the specific sights, sounds, and smells each of us had seared into our memories, and of the emotions they stirred. I can only attempt to capture the visions and the feelings that still ebb and flow in my mind and soul.

What was it like? The weekly country team meeting — the meeting of the mission's senior staff — was convened in the ambassador's office, and I was chairing it as the ambassador's acting deputy. (The ambassador was meeting the minister of transport in a building behind the chancery.) As fate had it, ours was one of the most protected rooms when the bomb went off. On the opposite side of the building from the explosion, it was sheltered from the blast by the communications room — a cavernous structure built like a bank vault, whose thick concrete walls gave us protection. Even so, many of us were knocked to the ground. As we picked ourselves up, none of us understood the amplitude of the disaster that awaited a few feet away. We tried to call the Marine standing watch at "Post One," the main entrance of the chancery, but the line was dead.

As we made it to the fifth-floor lobby to take the stairs to the ground floor, a secretary was sprawled, face down, at the intersection of two hallways on one end of the building. Several of us rushed forward. Unconscious, she was moaning softly. Afraid to move her ourselves lest she had suffered damage to her spine, we decided to get the embassy doctor or nurse to help. Kneeling at her side, I peered down the corridor that led to the rear of the building. Only then did I begin to comprehend the scale of the disaster. My gaze, instead of meeting the door that led to the suite of offices that belonged to the Regional Affairs Office, encountered gray sky. That whole rear section of the fifth floor had been blown away.

The trip down the rubble-strewn and dust-filled stairwell lasted an eternity. In the shambles of what was

once the downstairs lobby our worst fears were confirmed. Scores of survivors, many bloody and dazed, streamed out of the building. The whole front of the chancery was ravaged, every window shattered. We set up an impromptu command post in front of the building. Chief security officer Paul Peterson, administrative counselor Steven Nolan, security engineer Lee Reed and I, unscathed, divvied up the tasks — organizing rescue parties to comb the shattered building, mobilizing our colleagues from the warehouse to bring badly needed materiel, getting the wounded to hospitals and keeping track of where they were being sent, contacting our colleagues from the Agency for International Development, located in a separate part of town. Our doctor and nurses set up a makeshift triage center at the door of the embassy. Shocked, bloodied colleagues and passers-by were everywhere.

The Worst Fear

With the first rescue operations set in place, I walked to the rear of the building where the bomb had gone off to assess the damage there. It was a scene Dante might have conjured for his *Inferno*. The whole back side of the chancery was rubble. In the back parking lot the wrecks of several vehicles were ablaze. Charred corpses, black and shriveled, their hands outstretched in what looked like a last, futile supplication to ward off their demise, were strewn about. Hundreds of survivors were struggling out of the towering Cooperative Bank building behind the chancery. All that was left of a smaller building that flanked it was a heap of concrete slabs. One man staggered by silently, the left side of his face ripped away, strips of flesh hanging from his bones.

One smoldering car looked familiar. I drew closer, and recognized, stalled in the alley leading to the parking lot, what looked like my own Jeep Cherokee. My wife had planned to come to the embassy at 10:30 that morning to take care of some administrative matters before joining me for an early lunch. The bomb went off at 10:37. The shipping section she intended to visit was rubble. My mind raced, while my stomach felt as if caught in a giant vise. I recalled the embassy had vehicles almost identical to my own — the same make, and the same color. I looked for the telltale signs of our own

*Instead of a doorway,
I saw gray sky. The
rest of the floor had
been blown away.*

vehicle, but the license plate was seared beyond recognition. I searched for the distinctive alloy hubcaps of our car, but the force of the explosion had torn the wheels off.

Addressing a silent, desperate plea to God that somehow my wife had escaped, I made it back to the front of

the building. There was no one left in the parking lot or the shipping section to help. On the other side of the building, the living at least outnumbered the dead.

On my way back, I saw Ambassador Prudence Bushnell, accompanied by two Foreign Service colleagues, coming out of the Cooperative Bank, where they had been meeting the Kenyan minister. All three were bleeding profusely from multiple gashes. We spoke briefly, and the ambassador found a car. She took her wounded colleagues to a doctor, then went to the USAID building to set up a crisis center to manage the disaster.

Meanwhile a crowd of perhaps 10,000 had quickly formed in front of the embassy. Most, shocked, were just gazing; many others wanted to help, while scores of looters started to swarm into the building through its gaping holes. With the surviving embassy Marines — one was dead, another wounded — and a few Army servicemen who were on temporary duty at the embassy, we set up a security perimeter around the building. We needed to control access to the site, if only to let our rescue teams do their job. Part of the crowd, however, suddenly surged forward. They had spotted a surviving embassy guard who had made it from the back of the building to the front, and was trapped behind the security fence that fronted the building. His clothes in shreds, his face and body a welter of bloody gashes, he gripped the bars of the fence gate, wailing pathetically.

A Surging Crowd Threatens

The surging crowd threatened to sweep our cordon away; had that happened, we would have been engulfed in a sea of humanity, and any attempt at an organized rescue would have been futile. A couple of us stepped toward the lead group of angry young men, urging them to let us continue our job. Others meanwhile scrambled to find the key to the gate. Feigning calm, we argued with the front line of the crowd. Glancing over my shoulder, I understood why our words carried such

weight and the mob stopped: a Marine and a soldier stood three feet behind us, their faces a mask of grim determination, their weapons leveled. We found the key and rescued the guard. Meanwhile, our rescue teams kept hauling shattered bodies, some alive, others lifeless, out of the chancery, using broken doors as makeshift stretchers.

As the minutes and hours passed by, they became a blur. The orders and instructions I gave, the actions I took, the scenes I witnessed slowly faded into a shapeless gray mass, like the choking dust cloud that hung over the bomb site, uniting the living and the dead in its powdery shroud. I recall absenting myself again for a moment from the command post — determined to stand our ground, we had dubbed it "Post One" — and heading back to the burned-out Jeep. In a flash, I recognized it was a right-hand drive vehicle, while ours was a left-hand drive. My hopes soared. Minutes later, my wife's voice came across the embassy radio net, trying to reach me. I began to feel alive again. Little did I know that destiny had again struck in its unfathomable way. The spouse of one of my friends and colleagues had dropped by our house unexpectedly that morning, and my wife had been delayed. Both were still at my home when the bomb went off. My wife's life was saved, while our friend lost her son and husband in the blast.

Still another picture of the bombing burns in my memory. Two days after the bombing, I went with a friend to Nairobi's central morgue searching for the body of one of our colleagues, which was still missing. He was not there (he was later identified in another facility), but what I saw constitutes one of my most powerful memories of the bombing. Over 30 bodies lay on tables and the floor. While some were horribly mutilated, others were not. They were all humble people, wearing modest clothes — hapless victims in the wrong place at the wrong time. On face after face was etched the same look of terror and shock. From beyond death, they seemed to inquire: Why?

"What was it like?" That was my August 7. It is just one person's account, which cannot do justice to the myriad of experiences and contributions of my colleagues.

*The faces of the
dead were etched
with the same
expression of shock
and terror.*

A Lingering Hollowness

How does it appear to me today? Muted pain lingers on. I will forever feel a hollowness when I remember the friends and colleagues lost. My mind still cannot accept the extraordinary and needless suffering that occurred that evil day. I am convinced that a jubilant Satan danced down the streets of Nairobi that evening. And I still sometimes wake

up at night, fighting the grip of the same dream, in which I search through endless blasted corridors for the body of my wife.

You carry on, absorbed by the kaleidoscope of daily life, but part of you cannot forget. The memories force themselves upon you when they choose.

Ultimately, I can only imagine what my fellow survivors, Kenyan and American, feel. But if these are my emotions, when my wife and I survived without a scar, what can it be for those who were wounded in their flesh, or whose loved ones were forever suddenly torn from them, leaving their lives forever altered? The wrenching outpourings of sorrow we witnessed in Nairobi, when family members convened to mark the first anniversary of the bombing, made clear that they suffered beyond my capability to describe.

The anguish of the survivors comes through in other ways as well. I saw it etched every day, for almost a year after the bombing, in the face of my boss Ambassador Prudence Bushnell. Although she had done everything in her power to make Nairobi as safe as possible, she bore with quiet dignity an infinite sorrow that this disaster had happened to those for whom she cared so.

The pain comes through in the disabled shuffle of George Okindo, the guard whom we rescued that morning in front of the chancery, and who is again at work with us at the interim Nairobi chancery — this time as a receptionist, as he can stand only with difficulty.

Moments of Bravery

It would be untrue, however, to claim that my memory of August 7, 1998, is entirely a shade of black. Tinged with the sorrow is pride, as I recall the extraordinary spirit our mission members, Kenyans and Americans alike, few of whom had any preparation for

such a disaster, displayed in the face of danger and death. The examples are almost innumerable. Who can forget the teams of volunteers who went repeatedly back into the blasted building, by then a death trap, filled with blinding and, we feared, poisonous smoke, littered with live wires, with gaping holes where elevator shafts once were? Ignoring the danger the wrecked chancery might collapse, they worked tirelessly to retrieve the wounded and the dead. Our electrical contractor Juzer Moosajee — not even a permanent employee — picked his way to the basement to turn off our generators, which threatened to ignite the tons of fuel stored at the back of the building. Finding the rooms half flooded, he did not hesitate to wade to the generators to switch them off, disregarding the threat of electrocution.

Nothing reminds me more of so many ordinary people performing the extraordinary that day than the image of one young Marine, decked in his flak jacket and cradling his weapon, every inch of him the resolute warrior as he guarded the perimeter. As our security officer Paul Petterson walked up to him, the fierce guardian asked in a soft, quavering voice, "Sir, have you ever experienced anything like this?" The survivors were shocked, but they were undaunted.

The fact remains, however, that the memory of August 7 remains chiefly sorrow, despite the tinge of pride. It was a human tragedy, of real people suffering cruelly. In doing my best to convey something of the texture of that day, I strive to keep alive the memory: Friends, colleagues, innocent people in often unspeakable anguish. That day cannot become another dry footnote, devoid of flesh and blood, in the pages of history. The memory of all that occurred cannot fade, lest we invite the tragedy to repeat itself.

Indeed, the basic question we must address is the one the innocent victims at the morgue seemed to whisper: Why? Why did this happen?

It happened because evil men, full of spite for our country and for what it stands, did not hesitate to kill scores and injure thousands to vent their rage. Unfortunately, international terrorism is unlikely to go away, fed as it is by bent minds who seek foreign scapegoats for the ills, perceived or real, of their own

*Volunteers
ignored danger to go
into the wrecked
building to retrieve
the wounded.*

societies, and who know no scruples in their attempts to strike back.

The Next Nairobi?

This leads us, inescapably, to another conclusion. The tragedy occurred in part because we allowed it to happen. After the bombings of the U.S. embassy and barracks in Beirut in 1983, a commission headed by Adm. Bobby Inman came up with

a comprehensive list of steps to forestall more terrorist strategies. At first, Congress and the executive branch supported programs to protect our embassies and overseas posts. But as the memory of the Beirut bombings faded and no new major successful terrorist attacks occurred, we slowly let our guard down.

Thus, 15 years after the Beirut bombings, Embassy Nairobi was still located on a curb of two of the city's major thoroughfares, a sitting duck for a car or truck bomb. It took any new employee less than a minute to realize the chancery was vulnerable. But there was no money to build a new chancery. Moreover, we deemed the threat of terrorism less in Nairobi and East Africa than in other, more turbulent parts of the world. We did not foresee that Middle East terrorists, crazed but hardly foolish, had concluded that as U.S. embassies were increasingly well protected in their own region, they would go after the more vulnerable ones, such as our embassies in East Africa.

In a sense, it was nobody's fault and everybody's fault. Our system performed the way it so commonly does. It devoted the lion's share of attention and resources to the most visible, pressing issues of the day, neglecting what seem to be less urgent problems.

And it is this that causes me deep concern. While the terrorists will not give up their murderous quests, they may take years before launching more large-scale strikes like those in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam. Will we be better able this time to do what is needed to make our diplomats secure overseas, if the threat once again seems over time to recede? I would like to be sanguine, but I am not sure that is warranted. If we lower our guard again, the question is not if — but only when — we will experience another Nairobi. ■

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HAVE WE INMANIZED YET?



O

IN THE 1980s, THE U.S. SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED PARTS OF THE INMAN PLAN FOR EMBASSY SECURITY.

BY ROBERT E. LAMB

Over the past two decades no phenomenon has had a greater impact on life in the Foreign Service than the changing security environment. Few institutions deal well with change. But venerable institutions like the Foreign Service find change particularly threatening. For years, we remained in denial about terrorism, hoping it was merely an aberration which some day would leave us alone so that we could go back to doing our work as we had done it before.

Writing in the early 1980s — after more than a decade of assassination of our diplomatic personnel and mob attacks against our embassies — one distinguished former senior officer of the department concluded that security inevitably means more restricted access and consequently more isolation for “our ambassadors and political officers.” He apparently had fewer concerns about the other members of the embassy staff. He observed “the security and appearance of

the residence thus becomes an issue in balancing the requirements of diplomacy with those of security. If all the plans of security officers for protecting the ambassador's residence were adopted, the results would be a bleak prison, forbidding even to the staunchest friends of the United States. Such an appearance would turn away ... the many people in unstable countries who, for political reasons, are reluctant to come to the American embassy in the best of circumstances. If diplomacy is to go forward, there must be a compromise." Arguments in favor of compromises with security were commonplace two decades ago, especially from members of the Foreign Service who wistfully remembered a different era.

The security threats against our embassies have grown unevenly since the Second World War. America's post-war leadership brought a new prominence to our missions around the world. Our embassies became convenient places for people everywhere to make a political statement about our government or its policies. Occasionally demonstrations got out of hand with the burning of the USIS library or an unruly mob throwing rocks at our chanceries. But they rarely became life threatening. In the final analysis, we could rely on our protection under international law.

The Threat Escalates

One expert has placed 1968 as the beginning of the modern era of terrorism against our embassies. In that year, there were a number of attacks against U.S. diplomatic personnel. The most dramatic single event in this chain was the assassination of Gordon Mein, our ambassador to Guatemala. In the late '60s and early '70s, we saw the threat intensify, but it remained confined primarily to attacks against individuals — kidnappings or assassinations to make a political point or to gain publicity for a cause.

In late 1979, there was a new escalation. Mobs burned our embassies in Libya and Pakistan. In Pakistan four embassy employees were killed, including a young Marine. In Tehran the embassy was seized by a mob and America began a 444-day hostage ordeal.

Robert E. Lamb is a retired FSO, and served as the first assistant secretary of State for Diplomatic Security from 1987 to 1989. He also served as assistant secretary for administration and ambassador to Cyprus. He is a member of the Governing Board of AFSA.

Daily newscasts drove home forcefully to all Americans the dangers of diplomatic service.

Then in March 1983, we saw another more deadly stage unfold. At lunchtime on a busy workday, a vehicle drove through the front entrance of our chancery in Beirut, came to rest against a supporting column and detonated. Seventeen Americans and 60 Lebanese lost their lives. Though we were late in recognizing it, a new era in embassy life had dawned. That bombing and the others that followed it — in Kuwait and again in Beirut — changed forever the way we do business out of our embassies.

Secretary of State George Shultz appointed a blue ribbon panel, chaired by Admiral and former National Security Agency Director Bobby Inman, to examine the future of embassy security. The panel consisted of a variety of exceptional talents: a former New York City police commissioner; a retired Marine general, Sen. Warren Rudman, R-N.H., Rep. Dan Mica, R-Fla., and two former ambassadors. Vic Dikeos, a former director of security for the State Department, and John Shumate, a very talented career FSO, provided the panel staff support.

Have We Inmanized Yet?

The panel gave the secretary a comprehensive report, which contained about 100 recommendations for protecting our embassies and our personnel from terrorism. There was also a highly classified annex containing an additional dozen recommendations dealing with counterintelligence issues. The report received mixed reactions within the department, but its importance did not escape us. Inman came into the Foreign Service vocabulary as a noun, an adjective ("an Inman project"), a verb ("Have we Inmanized that embassy yet?") and, to many, an interjection.

But in reality the Inman report was a far-sighted document that laid out a clear blueprint for the future. In the main, this blueprint remains valid today — nearly two decades later. It identified three cornerstones of a sound security program: secure physical facilities, better preparation for all Foreign Service personnel including families, and a professional cadre of security officers.

Our buildings had to be a high priority. Our 350 chanceries and consulates had been built for a different time. Many were unsafe for normal office uses. Few indeed were able to provide reasonable protection for our employees from terrorist threats. One embassy even



Looking for support for the Foreign Service, for your career and for your retirement benefits on Capitol Hill?

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If you have already responded to AFSA President Marshall Adair's request for support for AFSA's legislative fund, thank you!

If not, please fill out the card above and send it with your generous contribution so that we can continue to make a difference for you and for the Foreign Service.



AFSANEWS

American Foreign Service Association • June 2000

ALLEGED OIG MISCONDUCT ■ By Sharon Papp, AFSA General Counsel

State Accountable for Misconduct

The Foreign Service Grievance Board, by a Dec. 30, 1999 order, found that it had jurisdiction to decide a grievance alleging that the State Department Office of the Inspector General (OIG) violated recognized professional standards for conducting investigations which resulted in the grievant's separation from the Foreign Service for time-in-class. The grievant alleged that the OIG violated the Quality Standards for Investigations established by the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency and the OIG pamphlet "The OIG Investigative Process," which require investigations to be conducted in a fair, objective, and timely manner. The grievant, represented by AFSA, sought reinstatement

into the Foreign Service and a time-in-class extension to compensate for the harm caused to his career by the OIG's mishandling of the investigation.

The State Department Grievance Staff initially dismissed the grievance, claiming State had no jurisdiction or control over the reports or activities of the inspector general because the OIG, by statute, is independent from the State Department. On appeal, the Foreign Service Grievance Board found it had jurisdiction to decide the matter.

In reaching this conclusion, the board relied upon *NASA v. FLRA*, a June 1999 decision in which the Supreme Court found that OIG investigators in NASA

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Proposed Bylaws Change on Timing of AFSA Elections

Attention AFSA members: The Governing Board has put forward a proposal to amend the AFSA bylaws to allow for a more flexible and earlier election of the AFSA Governing Board. The process for amending the AFSA bylaws requires notification of the AFSA membership, a 45-day period for statements in opposition, a vote of the AFSA membership and two thirds approval of those voting. It is the responsibility of the AFSA Committee on Elections to conduct polling. The committee has set the following schedule:

- June 1 - Proposal announced to membership
- July 17 - Deadline for statements in opposition to proposed changes
- July 20 - Mailing of ballots
- August 30 - Deadline for return of ballots
- September 1 - Ballots counted

Continued on page 8



On March 22, distinguished guests welcomed AFSA's Foreign Service exhibit to the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta. The exhibit opened there on February 22. From left to right: Foreign Service Director General Skip Gnehm; 75th Anniversary Committee Chair Brandon Grove; former President Jimmy Carter; former First Lady Rosalyn Carter; AFSA President Marshall Adair; DACOR President Kenneth Rogers; and 75th Anniversary Committee Member Theodore Wilkinson.

AFSANEWSBRIEF



Adair Testifies Before House

On March 31, AFSA President Marshall Adair testified before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary. Adair stressed that international affairs should be more than one percent of the budget, that embassy security is a continuing concern, that the State Department needs to sustain an effective professional diplomatic service and that new and improved infrastructure is urgently needed in several overseas locations.

For a copy of Adair's testimony visit the Congressional Activity page of the AFSA web site at www.afsa.org.

In Search of AFSA Reps



The following 30 posts need an AFSA Representative:

Antananarivo, Asmara, Beirut, Berlin, Bishkek, Chennai, Chengdu, Cotonou, Dhahran, Doha, Guadalajara, Kigali, Luanda, Luxembourg, Madrid, Minsk, Munich, N'Djamena, Pristina, Rome, São Paulo, Sofia, Tirana, Tokyo, Ulaanbaatar, Valleta, Vientiane, Vladivostok, Wellington, Yerevan.

If you are interested, contact AFSA's Membership Representative Christine Spaulding at member@afsa.org or 202-338-4045, ext. 525.



Employee-Friendly Home Leave

The director general recently announced in State 69947 the immediate implementation of an employee-friendly change to the home leave rules. FS employees returning to a domestic assignment are now allowed a maximum of 25 working days of home leave, up from 15. Although AFSA initiated the review of home leave policies, PER proposed this specific change. AFSA welcomes the change and will continue to work with PER to reach agreement on other ways to improve the home leave system.

AFSA Takes DCM Grievance to Board

In May, AFSA took the historic step of asking the Foreign Service Grievance Board to rescind the assignment of a non-Foreign Service employee to a deputy chief of mission position in a Latin American post. As AFSA alleged in its March 9 grievance filed with State's Grievance Staff, in making that assignment the department violated negotiated agreements on Foreign Service appointments and assignments by failing to meet procedural and eligibility requirements.

The department formally rejected our grievance on April 26. AFSA firmly believes that its case is meritorious, but both the timing and content of the final decision are now up to the FSGB.

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Governing Board:

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CS Vice President: Peter Frederick
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Treasurer: Thomas Tieman
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USAID Representative: James Dempsey
Retiree Representatives: Harry Cahill, Garber Davidson, George Jones, Robert Lamb
FAS Representative: Ed Porter
CS Representative: Eric Sletten

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Retiree Liaison: Ward Thompson
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Professional Issues Coordinator: Doug Harwood
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Scholarship Administrator: Lori Dec
Corporate Relations: Barbara Bowie-Whitman

Morale?

In "Morale is in the Eye of the Beholder" (April 2000), Riley Sever offers a very useful analysis of the state of morale in today's Foreign Service. Having long since retired, I am in no position to offer a judgment. But what contributes to or detracts from morale doesn't change that quickly, and I found Sever's listing of what it takes to generate high morale lacking in one area: No mention is made of leadership—the example that is set from the top. Leadership is critical in any organization, and I would assume especially in today's FS, given some of the serious challenges it faces in a changing and often dangerous world.

Bruce Laingen
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.

The public diplomacy "Morale" column seems to rehash old complaints of perceived injustices. I admit there are serious morale problems at AID but these have nothing to do with any of the complaints listed. Let me address each issue briefly:

- "...all federal workers are underpaid ... particularly true for FS salaries...": You can always find studies to support your conclusions. Nonetheless, after traveling around the United States, specifically interviewing Americans at all income and social/work levels, my conclusion is that federal government salaries are very competitive, except maybe at the very top.

- "...there is no system in place to avoid TICing out large numbers of officers...": If TICing out in large numbers becomes required, State will certainly establish a system to implement the action. Job security has never been guaranteed in the FS, and it is even less so in the private sector.

- "FS allowance and benefits ...

Continued on page 6

Risk and Reward

On Wall Street, the stocks that are most likely to enjoy superior long-term gains are often those presenting above average risks for short-term losses. Thus, an investor who is willing to ride out a few bumps along the way will usually be rewarded in the end.

With this in mind, I have started to compare AFSA to a technology stock. Over the past year, State AFSA has seen increased "volatility" in our equivalent to market capitalization—our membership count. Since last summer, 44 active-duty State Department employees have resigned from AFSA. Of those who stated a reason, the leading causes were the "Mexico City" article in the December 1999 *Foreign Service Journal* (seven resignations), AFSA's domestic partners initiative (six resignations), and AFSA's opposition to the appointment of a Civil Service employee to be a DCM (four resignations).

Yet, over the past 12 months, net State AFSA membership is up by 611—a 12 percent gain—to 5709 (those numbers include Public Diplomacy employees in the current figure and USIA employees in the figure for one year ago). Not only are we seeing some long-time employees join for the first time (96 since last July), but our success with new hires has been phenomenal. In past years, only about half of new State Foreign Service employees joined AFSA. During the second half of 1999, we had a 77 percent success rate. So far in 2000, it has been 89 percent (that rate is the same for both specialists and generalists).

Clearly, many people like what they see. Increasing numbers of employees are taking note of the fact that State AFSA has turned up the pressure on a host of issues. A contact in the director general's office told me in March that he counted 49 AFSA letters awaiting management response. I had not realized that we had sent so many, but we make no apologies—there are certainly at least 49 issues at the State Department in need of fixing.

While I cannot help but lament the resignations that State AFSA has seen, given the number of fronts on which we are pressing forward, we are inevitably going to do things with which some members disagree. To quote General Colin Powell: "Being responsible sometimes means pissing people off. Good leadership involves responsibility to the welfare of the group, which means that some people will get angry at your actions and decisions. It's inevitable."

That said, if AFSA ever does something with which you disagree, please consider sending me an earful (NalandJ@state.gov, fax 202-647-0265) and then counting to 10 while thinking of the AFSA initiatives which have helped you (for example, our victories on allowances and benefits). To continue with the Wall Street analogy, if enough investors dump a promising stock at the first bump in the road, then it will never achieve the long-term gains that it could have. ☒



While I cannot help but lament the resignations that State AFSA has seen, given the number of fronts on which we are pressing forward, we are inevitably going to do things with which some members disagree.

The State Way

There are a handful of senior public diplomacy positions that play a significant role in how public diplomacy is integrated into the State Department. These include the senior Foreign Service position in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and in the International Information Programs as well as the office directors for public diplomacy in each of the geographic areas. When these positions were filled at USIA, a concerted effort was made to ensure that the most experienced USIA officers were selected. State has unfortunately decided that this was not a USIA "best practice."



The recent assignment of an O1 political officer into the minister counselor position as an officer director for public diplomacy surprised most public diplomacy officers. Not only was this a considerable "stretch assignment" but the officer had no prior experience in public diplomacy positions. In addition, this mid-level officer would rate two senior FS public diplomacy officers. Questions and concerns were expressed at senior levels but the assignment has been pushed forward.

As AFSA coordinator for integration issues, I wrote the director general concerning this matter. (A copy of the correspondence is available on AFSANet.) I explained that the assignment of an individual with "no working experience with the wide variety of public diplomacy programs, much less with the administration of the large budget and staff to implement those programs, is not the right leadership in one of the handful of senior public diplomacy positions which must establish the future of this vital function with the Department."

I acknowledged that cross-bidding was important and had been successful but, "I never dreamed that cross-bidding would have occurred at the area director level." I pointed out that this assignment "would be seen by most public diplomacy officers as a figurative 'slap in the face'" and it "would send a message about the value and future of public diplomacy and the public diplomacy officers in the Department of State ..."

The chief labor-management negotiator answered my letter with the explanation that public diplomacy officers have been "assigned to positions traditionally occupied by officers from the pre-integration State cones" and the fact that "these officers have been selected for these positions by virtue of their ability represents integration at its best." He added, "Fairness dictates that officers outside the PD cone have similar opportunities to demonstrate their talents and grow professionally by competing for and serving in traditional public diplomacy jobs." He closed with the point that "stretch assignments provide talented officers with opportunities to develop their professional potential by taking on challenging jobs above their own grades."

While I endorse cross-bidding and stressed that in my letter, the handful of senior public diplomacy policy positions mentioned above were not appropriate for cross-bidding, especially in the first year of integration. On the issue of stretch assignments, the less said the better.

The obvious answer, which many PD officers anticipated, would have been to promote the OC deputy officer director to the senior position and consider the lower ranking political officer for the deputy position. The assignment made instead illustrates that there is more to how State makes assignments than is mentioned in the assignments package. To paraphrase an old military expression, there is the right way, the wrong way, and the State way! ⊗

Call to Action

AFSA Needs Your Help

The amount proposed by Congress for the international affairs account is far below the amount requested by the administration and even last year's appropriations. The Appropriations Committee is in the process of deciding what the actual funding levels should be for FY 2001. AFSA urges all retired members to contact the following members of Congress, as well as your own representatives and senators, and ask them to approve the administration's international affairs request. Use the sample letter on page 5 as a guideline.

House Members

- J. Dennis Hastert
Speaker of the House
- Richard Gephardt
Minority Leader
- C.W. Bill Young
Chairman
House Appropriations Committee
- David Obey
Ranking Member
House Appropriations Committee
- Harold Rogers
Chairman
Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, and State
- José Serrano
Ranking Member
Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, and State
- Sonny Callahan
Chairman
Subcommittee on Foreign Operations
- Nancy Pelosi
Ranking Member
Subcommittee on Foreign Operations

Senate Members

- Trent Lott
Majority Leader
- Tom Daschle
Minority Leader

- Ted Stevens
Chairman
Appropriations Committee
- Robert Byrd
Ranking Member
Appropriations Committee
- Judd Gregg
Chairman
Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice,
and State
- Ernest Hollings
Ranking Member
Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice,
and State
- Mitch McConnell
Chairman
Subcommittee on Foreign Operations
- Patrick Leahy
Ranking Member
Subcommittee on Foreign Operations

Additional senators: Joseph Biden, D-Del.; Ben Nighthorse Campbell, R-Colo.; Susan Collins, R-Me.; Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif.; Chuck Hagel, R-Neb.; James Jeffords, R-Vt.; John Kerry, D-Mass.; Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn.; Richard Lugar, R-Ind.; Paul Sarbanes, D-Md.; Gordon Smith, R-Ore.; Fred Thompson, R-Tenn.; and George Voinovich, R-Oh. ⊗

Disability Income Plan for AFSA Members

AFSA's Disability Income Plan provides members with the choice of a \$1,000, \$2,000 or \$3,000 monthly benefit payment for up to five full years if you are disabled by a covered illness. Benefits are payable in addition to income from other sources, up to 70 percent of your monthly salary.

All AFSA members and/or their spouses and/or domestic partners under the age of 60, who have been actively working (at least 30 hours a week) for the last 90 days, and have not been hospitalized in the last six months are eligible to apply for the plan.

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Albert H. Wohlers & Co.
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Sample Letter to Congress

Your Name
Address

Date

The Hon. (Name)
Committee (if applicable) *or*
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Hon. (Name)
Committee (if applicable)
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Representative or Senator (Name):

As a member of the American Foreign Service Association, which represents 23,000 active and retired members of the Foreign Service, I urge you to vote at least for the Administration's budget request for the 150 International Affairs Budget Function.

There are few functions performed by the federal government that are reserved solely as a prerogative of the national government. Certainly, national defense is one of these, and it is clear that defense continues to need our strong support. However, I am concerned that the International Affairs account, another element of national security, has not received the support it needs. This lack of support severely undermines U.S. national security, because no amount of money placed in defense can replace the critical role of diplomacy in preventing conflict and preserving our interests abroad.

Over roughly the past decade, resources for the International Affairs account have been reduced by 41 percent, and each year it continues to be threatened with further reductions. The International Affairs account is just 1 percent of our Federal budget, and that is too low.

The Congress recently approved a FY2001 budget that is about \$3 billion less than requested and even \$2.2 billion less than last year. This approach undermines our ability to promote this nation's interests abroad through non-military means. It removes resources necessary to promote a wide variety of programs and also to provide necessary protection to our Foreign Service personnel posted abroad. When our diplomatic front is weakened, our nation has no other option but to turn to the more costly and more risky use of military and intelligence assets.

The Overseas Presence Advisory Panel, which was chaired by Wall Street executive Louis Kaden, and made up of people like Admiral William Crowe, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, business and labor leaders, and active and retired government officials found that "The United States overseas presence... is near a state of crisis." Lack of resources is a big part of the problem.

In today's interrelated world, our active presence in world affairs should be more than an afterthought.

Sincerely,

Your Name
Foreign Service (title), retired

Q&A

BY WARD THOMPSON,
RETIREE LIAISON

Q. Who is affected by the new legislation on the Social Security earnings test?

A. The Senior Citizens Freedom to Work Act of 2000, signed by the president after the House and Senate passed it unanimously, applies to all Social Security beneficiaries between ages 65 and 69. It abolishes the law under which their Social Security benefits would have been reduced by one dollar for every three dollars of earned income above \$17,000. There previously had been no limit for beneficiaries 70 and older; now all beneficiaries 65 and older are free to earn as much as they want without having their benefits reduced. While this legislation eliminates the earnings test, some federal annuitants, including Foreign Service annuitants, in the "old" retirement system may remain subject to the "windfall elimination provision," which reduces Social Security benefits for people receiving a pension from work not covered by Social Security (see next question).

Social Security beneficiaries ages 62 to 64 will continue to have their benefits reduced by one dollar for every two dollars they earn over \$10,080. This reduction continues to apply to the basic annuity supplement portion of the retirement benefit of federal annuitants, including Foreign Service annuitants ages 55 to 62, who have retired under the "new" system.

Q. Who is affected by the Windfall Elimination Provision (WEP)?

A. This reduction in Social Security benefits for people who also earned and receive pensions from work not covered by Social Security applies to certain federal annuitants in the "old" retire-

ment system only; i.e. those who reached age 62 after 1985 and did not become eligible for a federal annuity until after 1985. Many Foreign Service annuitants who retired after 1985 were actually eligible for earlier retirement, at age 50 with 20 years of service, and hence are exempt from the WEP. For others, if they qualify for Social Security benefits, a formula applies which reduces the minimum benefit by up to 55.6 percent. Those with higher benefits will experience a smaller percentage reduction overall, while those with 20 years or more of substantial earnings covered by Social Security will be subject to a smaller absolute reduction.

While legislation has been proposed to modify the WEP, passage is not likely at this time.

Another law, the Government Pension Offset (GPO), may affect some federal



retirees in the "old" system whose spouses worked and qualified for Social Security benefits. These retirees' own annuities may reduce or eliminate any spousal or widow(er) benefits they might otherwise get from the spouse's Social Security eligibility. A modification of the GPO has a chance of passing Congress soon.

The GPO and the WEP apply only to those federal annuities which are earned and not to survivor annuities.

Correction to April Q & A:

Due to editing, the information on how Medicare law affects FEHB participants 65 and older was garbled. It should have read: "In most cases, this will be to your advantage, since the law limits what providers can charge even those who do not have Medicare, and FEHB co-payments are based on what Medicare prescribes." ☒

Letters • Continued from page 3

haven't kept pace with inflation." Two factors have to be kept in mind. Many of these allowances and benefits were really perks seen by Congress over the last decade as excessive; budget cuts reduced and inflation further eroded these benefits. They are not likely to be reinstated. Learn to live with it.

• "The FS also continues to fail at supporting our families.": In my 28 years with three different foreign affairs agencies I found that the FS is mostly very generous.

• "This lack of public support is disheartening to all FSOs.": There has never been much public support for any branch of government, except at certain times for the military and FBI. In my 33 years with the FS, it never bothered me that my work wasn't appreciated by the American people. I knew the value of what I was doing and was proud to be part of it.

Maybe the sense of unhappiness is a reflection of a lack of firm purpose or direction.

Bruce Kosheleff
USAID, retired
Keene, N.H.

Letters to the Editor for articles or columns appearing in *AFSA News* should be sent to Rita Colorito at colorito@afsa.org or by fax at (202) 338-8244. Letters should be no more than 250 words and are subject to editing.

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were representatives of the agency and could be held responsible for an unfair labor practice charge committed by the investigators. (In the NASA case, the OIG investigators refused to recognize an employee's "Weingarten right" — the right of a bargaining unit employee to be represented by the union during an investigative interview.)

The Foreign Service Act authorizes the grievance board to decide grievances which involve an alleged violation, misinterpretation, or misapplication of applicable laws, regulations, or published policy affecting the terms and conditions of the employment or career status of FS employees which are "subject to the control of the Secretary." The issue before the board was whether the OIG's alleged violation of the Quality Standards for Investigations and published policy was

The Foreign Service Act provides that the inspector general shall be under the general supervision of the secretary of State.

subject to the control of the secretary of State. The board noted that the Foreign Service Act provides that the inspector general shall be under the general supervision of the secretary of State. The board also found that, like the NASA-OIG investigators, State Department-OIG investigators are employed by, act on behalf of, and operate for the benefit of the State Department. The grievance board concluded:

"If NASA is liable for the actions of its OIG investigators, and is responsible for seeing that they comply with the [Federal Service Labor Management Statute], it seems clear to us that the general supervisory responsibility the secretary of State has with respect to the agency's OIG is equally to ensure that its actions comply with applicable law, in this case, the Foreign Service Act."

The board remanded the grievance to the State Department Grievance Staff to allow it to more fully address the substantive issues raised by the grievance. A decision from the grievance staff is expected shortly. Whether the grievant ultimately prevails, the board's order establishes an important precedent and reinforces AFSA's longstanding request that the secretary exercise her supervisory responsibilities over the OIG. ⊗

2000 AFSA Award Winners

Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy:

David D. Newsom

(See article on page 42 of this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*.)

Christian A. Herter Award:

Kenneth M. Quinn and
Carol A. Rodley

William R. Rivkin Award:

Luis G. Moreno, Jr.

Runner-up: Karen B. Decker

W. Averell Harriman Award:

Thomas E. Kelly

Runner-up: Karen Choe

Tex Harris Award:

Frontis B. Wiggins

Runner-up: Raymond Bassi

Delavan Award:

Lynn K. Bitters

Runner-up: Teresa Chupp

M. Juanita Guess Award:

Geri Kersey

Runners-up: Ann Severns and
Lori D'Amico

Avis Bohlen Award:

Dianne Bodeen

Runner-up: Jaye Escudero

AFSA Achievement Awards:

Active Duty Member-

Janina Jaruzelski

Retired Member-

Brandon H. Grove, Jr.

The American Foreign Service Association will confer its annual awards on Thursday, June 22 at a 12 noon ceremony in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room of the Department of State.

(Look for full coverage in the July/August 2000 *AFSA News*.)

The process of amending the bylaws is governed by Article IX as follows:

ARTICLE IX

Amendments

Section 1. Procedures:

(a) One hundred regular members or the board may propose, in writing and accompanied by a statement of justification, an amendment to these bylaws by submission to the Committee on Elections.

(b) The committee shall promptly circulate to the membership each such proposed amendment and justification by publication in the *Foreign Service Journal* and other appropriate media. The committee shall accept, for 45 days following the date of publication of the proposed amendment, statements of appropriate length submitted in opposition thereto and signed by not less than 10 members. No two statements shall be signed by the same member.

(c) Members may distribute, at their own expense, additional statements regarding a proposed amendment. To facilitate this process, the association shall make available on request the membership list or address labels, for which it shall be reimbursed for all related expenses.

(d) The committee shall commence a poll of the membership on the proposed amendment within 90 days following the date of its publication, and shall conclude the poll within 45 days. The committee shall provide, along with ballots, the statements in support of and in opposition to the proposed amendment.

Section 2. Adoption of a proposed amendment will require the affirmative votes of not less than two-thirds of the valid votes received and will be effective immediately.

Statements in opposition to the proposed bylaws amendment should be received by close of business on July 17, 2000 and sent to: Robert J. Wozniak, Chair AFSA Committee on Elections, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, DC 20037, fax 202-338-6820 or e-mail exec@afsa.org.

Explanation of Proposed Changes from the Governing Board

Selecting the AFSA leadership is a very important part of keeping our organization alive and well. We would like to ask every member to seriously consider this proposal and to participate in the upcoming vote.

The purpose of these changes is to allow the AFSA election to take place so that the outcome could be known as early as March 1. Under current rules, the result of the vote is not known until July 1. Advancing that date by up to four months would potentially encourage more members to run for the full-time positions on the AFSA Governing Board by giving successful candidates more time to prepare and transfer back to Washington before taking office on July 15 and giving unsuccessful candidates more time to secure alternate assignments.

The current bylaws language restricts the election to a very specific set of dates. The proposed language lays out a structure and requires adequate time for an election but does not restrict the election activities to specific dates. Under the proposed language the election could occur on its current schedule or on a more extended schedule as proposed. This flexibility is reasonable and would allow for further fine tuning in the future. Although not currently an option, at some point in the future the method of voting might include electronic voting and allow for a swifter process. The Department of Labor has been consulted and has informed us that the proposed less specific schedule is more in keeping with the bylaws of other unions.

The Governing Board asks members to support this change and vote in favor of the proposal. If the bylaws change passes, the Governing Board will ask the Committee on Elections to consider a schedule which will allow the call for nominations to go out in October, nominations to be due in November, ballots mailed by Jan. 15 and ballots to be counted on March 1.

Proposed Change in AFSA Bylaws To Allow Flexibility in the Timing of the AFSA Election

Proposed Changes

Note: Additions are in bold and deletions are ~~crossed through~~.

ARTICLE V, Section 3(b)

The constituency vice presidents and representatives shall be elected from constituencies composed of the regular members belonging to the Foreign Service in each of the departments or agencies to which Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 applies, pursuant to Sec. 1003(a), and a single retired constituency for all former members of the service from all such departments and agencies.

Each constituency having a minimum of 100 members as of the **end of the month prior to the issuance of the call for nominations** ~~the last working day of the calendar year before the election~~ shall be entitled to a constituency vice president. In addition, each constituency shall be entitled to one representative for each 1,000 members or fraction thereof as of the **end of the month prior to the issuance of the call for nominations** ~~last working day of the calendar year before the election year~~, provided that any constituency that for three consecutive months has a membership which would on that date have entitled it to an additional representative shall have an additional representative, who shall be appointed by the board.

ARTICLE V, Section 8

Residency: Board members shall be resident in the Washington area within 60 days of **taking office on July 15 or appointment to office thereafter** ~~appointment or election to office~~ and shall remain resident in the Washington area throughout their term in office. Board members who cease to be resident in the Washington area during their term shall submit their resignations to the board.

ARTICLE VII, Section 2(a)

(a) ~~In odd numbered years~~ The Committee on Elections shall issue to all Members an election call prescribing the terms and conditions of the election and soliciting candidacies in the *Foreign Service Journal* and in other appropriate media no less than 6 months prior to the new officers taking office on July 15 of each odd numbered year.

ARTICLE VII, Section 2 (b)

All nominations shall be in writing and must be received by the Committee on Elections no later than 30 days following the date of the election call. Nominations must be accompanied by evidence of eligibility as of the ~~deadline for nominations June 30 of the year of the election.~~ Nominations may be individual or by slate, and candidates may be self-nominated or nominated by any regular member.

ARTICLE VII, Section 2(c)

The Committee on Elections shall verify the eligibility of candidates for each position and announce candidates' names **within 14 days of the deadline for nominations on or about April 1.**

ARTICLE VII, Section 2(e)

The committee shall mail the official ballot bearing the names of all qualified candidates, slate identifications when applicable and voting instructions to each regular member no less than 45 days before the **counting of the ballots on or about May 15.**

ARTICLE VII, Section 2 (h)

The committee shall count **within 7 days on or about July 1** all ballots received as of the close of business **on the date established by the call for nominations as the deadline for ballots and no less than 45 days after the mailing of the ballots and no less than 14 days before the new board members take office on July 15 the last working day of June.** Candidates or their representatives may observe counting procedures and are entitled to challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter. ⊗

State Required to Pay "Reception Year"

By a decision dated March 29, 2000, the Foreign Service Grievance Board required the State Department to reimburse more than \$7,000 to an employee who had been denied an education allowance for his son. The employee, who was represented in the grievance proceeding by AFSA, sought tuition reimbursement for the "reception year"

at the British international school his son attended at post. The reception year is the first year of formal primary education under the British education system.

The budget office at post denied the reimbursement because the child would not have turned five years old in time to enter the kindergarten at the primary U.S. curriculum school at post. In a cable, State supported the post's decision. The cable stated that a child must turn five by December 31 of the year in which he or she enters the reception year or kindergarten to be eligible for reimbursement. (The age cutoff was derived from the age cutoff for kindergarten in the District of Columbia.) After the employee's grievance with State was denied, he appealed to the Grievance Board.

During this process, State notified AFSA that it planned to change the applicable sections of the standardized regulations to conform to its interpretation of the education allowance. AFSA

urged State to wait until there was a final decision in the grievance but the department refused.

The board's decision confirms that the language of the standardized regulation at the time of the grievance permitted the department to reimburse education expenses for four-year-old children attending school programs that are similar to kindergarten under the U.S. public school program, as long as the child was eligible to enter first grade the following year. Since the child in question met this criterion, the board ordered State to reimburse the grievant.

Since this issue arose, AFSA has become aware of at least two other employees who have been denied reimbursement of an education allowance for the reception year. AFSA has written the department, requesting that it revise the new standardized regulations to conform to the grievance board's ruling regarding the previous language. ⊗



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INSIDE THE FS COMMUNITY

Getting Rid of Books? AAFSW Needs Donations

The Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide will be hosting their annual bookfair in October, and needs your assistance with donations. Proceeds from the bookfair are used for charitable donations and for advocacy work on behalf of the Foreign Service community.

AAFSW would like donations for the Art Corner, for the Collector's Corner (rare books) and regular books, stamps and coins.

In the Washington, D.C., Area: Donation pick ups can be arranged by calling Virginia Jones in the Book Room at (202) 223-5796.

In the Department: Donations may be dropped off in the Book Room, Monday

to Friday between 10 a.m. and noon or by appointment at (202) 223-5796.

From Overseas: Donations may be pouched to the AAFSW Book Room, Room #1524 Main State. Careful packaging is essential as items are often handled roughly.

Exhibit Features Work of Former FSO

"Looping the Loop" an exhibition of vintage aviation posters at the National Air and Space Museum in Washington, D.C., features the work of former FSO and aviation historian Henry S. Villard, including his personal mementos such as air meet tickets and a sketch of a 1912 air meet in Naples. Villard, a former ambassador to Mauritania and Senegal, authored two books on aviation history. The exhibition is supported by his scholarship and expertise.

"Looping the Loop" closes at Air and Space on July 9, but will travel to other locations throughout the country until 2002. Upcoming locations include the Thames Science Center in Newport, R.I. from July 22 to Oct. 8., and the Virginia Air and Space Center in Hampton, Va., from Oct. 20 to Jan. 7, 2001. For additional exhibition dates go to www.si.edu/sites/exhibit/looping.htm.

Prominent Refugees Project

Do you know of any refugees who have made a significant contribution to the United States? To mark its 50th anniversary next year, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is creating a web site "gallery" of prominent refugees, and would like to hear from you. For more information contact Jennifer Marsh at UNHCR's Washington, D.C. office at (202) 296-5191 or at marsh@unhcr.ch.

Let Us Know

Do you have news about a recent accomplishment of an AFSA member or news of an event of interest to the FS community? Fax it to (202) 338-8244.

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F O C U S

had a portion of the building cordoned off for fear that it would collapse under the weight of an employee. But buildings are expensive and money for basic repairs had been deferred year after year. Security improvements were out of the question.

The survey showed us that the other aspects of State's overseas security program were equally deficient. Basic security awareness training for our overseas personnel and their families was minimal. Our department's security organization lacked the material and personnel resources to face the challenges this new environment posed.

Support and Success

In response to this report and the program it laid out, the administration approved and sent forward the largest money bill in the history of the State Department. Critics at that time raised many of the same questions we hear today. "Can State handle so much money?" "Will

*In 1979, the threat
escalated, as mobs
burned our embassies
in Libya and Pakistan.*

the program work?" Those questions were answered clearly. State managed the money well and the program was more successful than anyone anticipated. A number of factors contributed to this success, but in retrospect, I think one of the most important was the strong support which the program received from Ron Spiers,

the deputy under secretary for management and from the management of the department. Secretary Shultz scheduled daily meetings with the senior officials in State Security to monitor progress during this critical period.

There were also practical questions from the Hill about where the money was to come from. This was the first year of the Gramm-Rudman congressional spending cap. Fortunately, our oversight committees were convinced of the need and persuaded of the soundness of the proposals. While the bill was actually on the floor of the House, a terrorist attack against the embassy



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in Lisbon was thwarted. Although it did not get a great deal of public attention, the incident was widely reported on the Hill. The Omnibus Diplomatic Security and Anti-Terrorism Act of 1986 was passed by strong majorities in both houses.

The actual appropriations attached to the bill were reduced by about 40 percent. Congress struck virtually all of the money for counterespionage. As one congressional staffer said, "We'll give you what you need to protect people, but nothing to protect all that paper in the embassies." While we would pay the cost for these reductions in years to come, we were to feel the consequences of the loss in counterespionage funds particularly acutely during the Moscow espionage investigations just three years later.

Enacting the legislation and getting the appropriations were only the beginning of the challenge to the department. Experts in Diplomatic Security identified 13 embassies, mostly in the Middle East, which were immediately vulnerable to terrorist attack. Teams were dispatched to the field to put interim measures in place. We in the Foreign Service added terms like "berm," "bollard" and "setback" to our workaday vocabularies.

The department could get little help from other agencies on the techniques for making public buildings safe from explosives. There was little government experience in this field. Earthquake technology was helpful. The Department of Energy had some work on the effects of nuclear blasts. But, for the most part, DS and State's Foreign Buildings Office had to contract for original studies.

Buildings That Cause Casualties

Research showed that in blasts most of the casualties result from building materials used in the structure. For example, cinder block walls, which were used to protect most of our embassies, were especially dangerous. In a blast, the cinder blocks would disintegrate, creating shrapnel which causes more casualties than the blast itself. Physical security experts determined that while modifications were necessary to the structure, the most important protection was in setback. Modeling showed that, based on the type of bombs which could be expected to be delivered against one of our buildings, we needed to be able to control 100 feet around the chancery on all sides.

Interestingly, this soon became an international standard. We received an intelligence report the following year that the Russians wanted to acquire land in a friendly foreign country for a new embassy. They told their foreign ministry contact that they needed a 100-foot setback for security reasons.

Work began immediately to build new, safer structures for our embassies in a score of countries. We also had to design and implement physical security plans for virtually all the others. By 1986, it looked like the department had mastered the techniques necessary to protect our embassies. Terrorism against our embassies no longer appeared on the front pages of our papers and on the evening newscasts. Embassy employees and their families were demonstrably safer than they had been before the Diplomatic Security bill was passed.

There is a new generation of dedicated Foreign Service personnel staffing our embassies today. For many, their entire careers have been spent in an environment where the new demands and dangers are part of the workplace. This new cadre of professionals — like their predecessors before them — is prepared to serve anywhere our country's needs require, even in hostile and sometimes perilous conditions. The threat of terrorism has not been permitted to force the U.S. to curtail its diplomatic activities.

At that same time, these men and women have come to expect the government to make every effort to equip them and their families physically and psychologically to deal with the new environment. Techniques for dealing with high-risk situations have been developed over the past decades. They expect the government to afford them reasonable protection as they go about their work abroad. Most are not today exposed to mortal danger in the course of their daily assignments, but all Foreign Service personnel expect to be prepared to cope with extreme stress should they encounter it.

Attractive, Secure Buildings

Even the strongest skeptics have to admit that "the bleak prisons" foreseen in the 1980s have not materialized. For the most part, the new generation of Inman buildings is attractive and functional as well as secure. They are generally worthy representatives of our country abroad. Admittedly there is more restricted public access to our chanceries. But there are few U.S. gov-

F O C U S

ernment employees abroad today who could seriously contend that they cannot do their work effectively because of the security measures now in place. The calls for compromise with security have diminished from those who have to work in the Foreign Service today.

State can look with pride on its success in this unprecedented program. But it is this success which has laid the groundwork for our current weaknesses. Once public attention had been drawn away from this issue, the funds began to dry up. Once again, providing adequate security for all of our employees everywhere was "beyond our means." Once again, the department found itself trying to second guess where and how terrorism would strike, hoping that the terrorists would not find the vulnerabilities that we were creating for ourselves. Once again, we had gone back to creating situations where we would be caught by surprise.

On Aug. 7, 1998 it happened. Twin car bombs exploded at our embassies in Nairobi and at Dar es Salaam, killing more than 200 people. This was the launching of a new form of terrorism against America and a further escalation in terrorism against our overseas presence. Most of those killed in these tragic attacks were not Americans but East Africans. In earlier times, we could have assumed that the presence of a busy market near the embassy would have provided us some protection. Of past terrorists, it was said "they want a lot of people watching and not a lot of people dead." No longer true.

This new form of terrorism has ushered in a new ruthlessness — and a new mobility. The two embassies selected in East Africa were chosen, not because they were involved in any way in the terrorists' grievances against the United States. They were not close to the home base of the perpetrators. They were chosen because they were vulnerable.

In the wake of the East African attacks, the *Economist* observed, "America is by no means the only victim of international terror, but it is a particularly attractive target for a new sort of anti-West, anti-everything terrorist group, which typically lacks a clear agenda, but harbours a deep grudge. It is also, however, a

**"Once is
happenstance,
twice is coincidence,
three times is
enemy action."**

— James Bond

butt for grudge bearers with an agenda, especially in the Middle East."

All of us who have worked and lived abroad for our country have sensed the changes that are taking place in the security environment. Sir Geoffrey Jackson, a former British ambassador to Uruguay, who was himself kidnapped by the Tupamaros guerrillas in 1971, recounts his own growing awareness of these changes. "It was quite early

in 1970 when I began to sense that accumulation of recurrently anomalous situations which the late Ian Fleming defined so neatly. His James Bond says somewhere that 'once is happenstance, twice is coincidence, and three times is enemy action.' By this time the least perceptive of mortals begins to grasp that, however much the world around him may be changing, his own private world is changing even more." These observations still apply today.

Adm. William Crowe's Accountability Review Board surveyed the embassy security scene a decade after Adm. Inman and he, too, concluded that we were not doing enough to protect our people and our facilities. His board recommended that we spend \$1.4 billion per year on security for the next decade. Current indications are that we will not reach anything close to that level.

Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam are behind us now. Once more, the threat of terrorism has dropped from public notice. But we all know that is not the end of it. American embassies will be attacked again. Our sense of responsibility tells us that we must do all that we can to protect our embassies and the people in them — as well as the national security information they house. That umbrella of protection has to extend over American and FSN, over State and all other agencies, and over families as well as employees.

We need a strong security program to accomplish this. The secretary of State, the administration and the Congress should again reaffirm their commitment to the successful attainment of that goal.

The American diplomatic presence is more important in the world today than at any time in history. We cannot let terrorism shape that presence any more than we can let it shape our policies. ■

THE FSO IN THE EYE OF THE STORM

AFTER OUTSTANDING CAREERS IN BOTH THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND ACADEMIA,
DAVID NEWSOM IS HONORED FOR A LIFETIME OF ACHIEVEMENT.

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

This month, David Dunlop Newsom will receive the American Foreign Service Association's award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy — and it's not hard to understand why. Newsom has had a wide-ranging diplomatic career and an impressive subsequent track record as a teacher, administrator and author. A three-time ambassador to Libya, Indonesia and the Philippines, as well as assistant secretary for African affairs, Newsom finished his 34-year Foreign Service career as under secretary of State for political affairs, the number three position in the department.

Newsom was born on Jan. 6, 1918 in Richmond, Calif. After receiving his A.B. in English from the University of California at Berkeley in 1938, he went on to the Columbia University School of Journalism, where he obtained a master's in journalism in 1940 and immediately embarked on extensive travel around the world. He then worked as a reporter for *The San Francisco Chronicle* before entering the U.S. Navy in 1942. Upon his discharge as a lieutenant in 1946, he and his wife, the former Jean Frances Craig, published the Walnut Creek (California) *Courier-Journal* until he joined the Foreign Service in 1947.

As an information officer, he served in Karachi, Oslo and Baghdad before returning to Washington in 1955 to become the officer-in-charge (office director) for Arabian Peninsula affairs, followed by a year at the National War College. From 1960 to 1962 he was posted to London as first secretary, with responsibility for the Middle East and Africa, then served as director of the Northern African affairs office back in Washington. In 1965, President

Lyndon Johnson appointed him ambassador to Libya, the first of three ambassadorships.

He returned from that post in 1969 to serve as assistant secretary of State for African affairs. From 1973 to 1977 he was ambassador to Indonesia and then ambassador to the Philippines from November 1977 to April 1978, when he became under secretary of State for political affairs.

While serving as under secretary, he was the subject of a three-part *New Yorker Magazine* profile which appeared in June 1980. Although journalist Robert Shaplen spelled out his dismal assessment of the Carter administration's foreign policy, particularly in regard to the Iran hostage crisis, he repeatedly praised Newsom's expertise and his trouble-shooting skills. Among the many plaudits from colleagues (and even bureaucratic rivals) Shaplen quoted Peter Tarnoff, then State's executive secretary, as saying, "He's at his best in a crisis, when he's in the eye of the storm." Warren Christopher, then deputy secretary of State, told Shaplen that Newsom was "an instant historian with a great memory [who] knows how to get the maximum effectiveness" out of the department.

Newsom served in that position until February 1981, and was the secretary of State ad interim between the Carter and Reagan administrations. Newsom's 1981 retirement from the Foreign Service was also the beginning of a new phase in his contributions to public life. He became director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and Marshall B. Coyne Research Professor of Diplomacy, at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where he remained until 1990. In the fall of 1986, he was the John Adams Fellow under the Fulbright program at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. After leaving Georgetown, he was appointed in 1991 to the Hugh Cumming Chair in International Relations at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville,

Steven Alan Honley is the Associate Editor of the Journal.

a position he held until 1999.

Newsom is the author of five books: *A History of Wellington College* (1959), *The Western Observer* (1972), *The Soviet Brigade in Cuba* (1987), *Diplomacy and the American Democracy* (1988), and *The Public Dimension of Foreign Policy* (1996). Indiana University Press will publish his next book, *The Imperial Mantle*, later this year. He has also published numerous articles in various periodicals and has been a regular columnist for *The Christian Science Monitor*. In 1989 Newsom launched and edited *The Diplomatic Record*, which he envisioned as an annual compilation of essays and background material surveying recent major diplomatic actions from the perspectives of participants and scholars. Published by Westview Press for the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, volumes of *The Diplomatic Record* appeared in 1991 and 1992.

Newsom is the recipient of numerous honors, including the Rockefeller Public Service Award and the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award. A founding member and the first president of the American Academy of Diplomacy, he is a member of the National Research Council's Committee on Science and Technology in Foreign Policy. He also serves on the board of directors of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, the board of advisers for the Institute of Public Policy and International Affairs of Lincoln University and the board of governors of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired. In addition, he is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs.

He and his wife Jean have five children and four grandchildren.

Associate Editor Steven Alan Honley interviewed Newsom at the Cosmos Club on April 4. Excerpts from that conversation follow.



David Newsom while assistant secretary for African Affairs, early 1970s.

FSJ: What first drew you to the Foreign Service? I understand you had a journalistic background.

Newsom: Yes, I went to the School of Journalism at Columbia University. Under the will of Joseph Pulitzer, the school awarded three travelling fellowships to its graduates each year. I received one of these when I graduated in 1940 and used it to go around the world that year. The cheapest way to go was on Japanese ships. I went around to Japan, the Dutch East Indies, East Africa, and then on across to South America. I had a real interest in the world and our relations with it, particularly with India. Then I was in the Navy during World War II, and after the war, I heard about the special examination for the Foreign Service. I decided just to take it, without a great deal of preparation.

At that time my wife and I were running a small newspaper in California and one day we noticed that Elbert G. Mathews and his wife — he was consul general in

Caleutta — were visiting in a nearby town. So having never met any live member of the Foreign Service since we took the exam, we went and called on him. He subsequently became the director of the Office of South Asian Affairs — and knowing of my interest in the subcontinent, he brought me out of the A-100 course to go to Karachi for my first posting. This was at the time of partition.

FSJ: Was your work as information officer anything like what you had imagined from your training?

DN: I had to make it up as I went along. The U.S. Information Agency had just been formed, and I had had no training for this particular job. For several months, I was the only one there: I had to rent the space and hire the staff. But it was a great adventure. We found accommodations and began putting out material and meeting people. I often regretted the fact that the ease of transfer between USIS and the other Foreign Service positions became more difficult in later years, because I benefited greatly from that early experience.

**“I told Al Haig,
‘Sir, you can’t run the
operation if
all the assistant
secretaries leave.’”**

Then, because of numerous ailments that we contracted in Karachi at that time, we were given a kind of rest cure in Norway. I also received my consular training there. But we were there only 15 months before they picked me out to be public affairs officer in Baghdad. I remember that an inspector was standing beside me when I called my wife to tell her we were going there. She kind of screamed when I said that, so I told her an inspector was standing right beside me. She muted her voice and ran for the atlas. (Laughs)

FSJ: I hope she was pleasantly surprised by what she found when you got there.

DN: Oh yes, we’ve never had a post that we didn’t like in some way or another. Some were more difficult as far as living was concerned than others, of course.

FSJ: Do any stand out for you?

DN: Well, I think Karachi, being at the beginning of a new country’s existence, and having the freedom to start a new program, was an extremely gratifying tour. Indonesia I enjoyed very much. Libya, before the revolution, was also a very pleasant place. I was only in the Philippines for five months before being called back to serve as under secretary for political affairs but I’ve always been fascinated by the decolonization process in other people’s colonies, and of course, the Philippines were our own former colony. In fact, I’ve just written a book on the decolonization process and some of the difficulties we have had with it. It’s called *The Imperial Mantle* and it will be published by Indiana University Press later this year.

FSJ: Would you say that by the time you were in Manila, Marcos had pretty much dropped any pretensions of being a democratic reformer and had basically become the autocrat we think of him as today, or was he still wavering between the two possible paths?

DN: He liked to make the pretense that he was wavering, but he was clearly no longer a reformer by that point, as the revelations following his fall confirmed. In some ways, Marcos was a tragic figure, because he was a very smart politician and probably could have continued to be elected as president of the Philippines without going through all the shenanigans that he did. We suspected the acquisitiveness of both Ferdinand and Imelda when I was there, but the extent of it surprised me when it was finally revealed.



At a press conference in Tunisia, 1971.

Marcos did do something that probably needed to be done in Filipino politics — curb the power of the traditional families through which the Spanish had ruled and we had ruled for many years — but he did it by taking their wealth, which didn't advance democracy.

FSJ: It's easier to look at this with 20/20 hindsight, of course, but in general, do you think the U.S. was too indulgent of the Asian dictators like Marcos and Suharto in the 1970s and 1980s? Or did we do the best we could with what we had, given the Cold War and our various interests in the region?

DN: The answer to that depends to some extent on the views of the secretary of State and president at that time. If you had high officials who felt that U.S. strategy called for close relations with a particular country, it was difficult for an ambassador to maneuver very much before he or she got outside the prescribed limits. But the Philippines is an interesting case because although Reagan felt Marcos was a staunch ally, several of those — Bill Sullivan, who came before me, and Mike Armacost, who came after me [as ambassador to Manila] — I think we all felt that we could send out signals that we and the embassy saw an alternative path that U.S. interests would go down. Sullivan, for example, made it clear that he was not totally tied to the Marcoses. We did it through various gestures like opening the embassy ballroom for a benefit for an orphanage run by an American Jesuit who was at odds with the Marcoses.

Mike Armacost did a brilliant diplomatic maneuver when Benigno Aquino was assassinated: he not only attended the funeral but went to his mother's house. That sent a signal out through the Philippines community that the U.S. knew what was going on. So after Marcos finally departed,

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though the bases went — which I think was inevitable — the U.S. did not lose all its influence.

FSJ: Were there people you especially admired or were inspired by during your Foreign Service career?

DN: Oh yes, many. I've already mentioned Elbert G. Mathews, who was the first FSO I really got to know. Another one I hold in high regard was Robert Murphy. I never worked directly for him, but when I was officer director for Arabian Peninsula affairs, he was the under secretary. He was a master diplomat, something of an actor, who could put on various moves depending on whom he was dealing with. And Raymond H. Hare and Parker Hart were both valuable mentors to me.

FSJ: Who was your favorite secretary of State?

DN: Well, I worked for eight secretaries of State in all, if one counts Al Haig at the Reagan transition. I got to know them all personally from Dulles on. Those who were most effective were those who had the full confidence of the president they worked for. These included Dulles and Kissinger; Kissinger also had the best grasp of an interconnected world. I respected all the others including Rogers, Rusk and Vance, but they all suffered from an uncertain relationship with their chief. Muskie with his politician's touch would have made a good secretary, but he did not have the time in office.

FSJ: Many FSOs would not agree with your praise for Kissinger.

DN: I understand why, and he had his flaws to be sure: For example, the Third World, where I mostly worked, was not high on his list. I do also want to say I had great respect for William Rogers, who was not treated well by Kissinger or Nixon.

*Many fine officers had
their careers ruined
when the Reagan
administration came in.*

FSJ: Your last Foreign Service assignment was as under secretary for political affairs. That's a position that has been held both by FSOs and political appointees. Do you have any feelings about whether either background is better preparation for doing the job?

DN: I think that position ideally should be something like a permanent undersecretary in the British Foreign Office — someone who stays through administrations and provides a high level of continuity. That kind of holdover actually happened between the Ford and Carter administrations, and again with me between the Carter and Reagan administrations, though only for about six weeks. That continuity is very important, and that's the logical place for it to be, but the Washington atmosphere has become so politicized — and this was particularly true when the Reagan administration came in — that anyone who worked for the previous Democratic administration was immediately suspect. Many fine officers had their careers ruined because of that.

I was interim secretary of State during that transition, and I was presented by the incoming people with a list of officers who should not be at their desks on the 20th of January. I immediately went to Al Haig and said to him, "Sir, you can't run this operation if all these people, all the assistant secretaries, for example,



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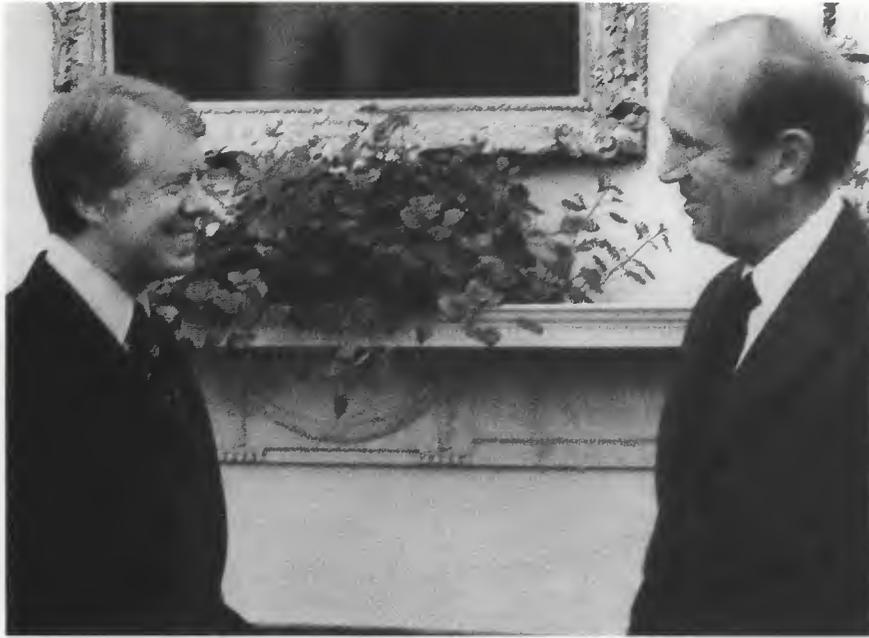
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Under Secretary for Political Affairs Newsom, with President Carter

leave." He went to, I guess [National Security Adviser] Dick Allen, and that was rescinded; in the end, all but three stayed at their desks until their replacements had been

confirmed. That was the only transition I've been close to, but the lack of understanding of how diplomacy works and how the department works was just incredible.

— Editor Wanted —

The *Foreign Service Journal* seeks to hire a half-time editor for our *AFSA News* section.

The editor will edit *AFSA News* and will work on other parts of the *Journal* as needed. Candidates should have writing and editing experience, and a knowledge of the Foreign Service. (Historically, this position has often been a good fit for Foreign Service spouses.) The job starts in mid-summer.

If you are interested, please send a résumé and writing samples (preferably published) to the *Journal's* editor, Bob Guldin, by e-mail at guldin@afsa.org, by fax at (202) 338-8244, or by mail at the *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20037.

We had to have a special meeting with the lawyers of the new administration to convince them that the deal Warren Christopher had negotiated in Algeria to free the Iran hostages was beneficial to the United States. They had come in with the idea of abrogating the Algiers agreement, thinking it amounted to negotiating ransom, all because of what they had read in *Human Events*.

FSJ: It must have been rather surreal being the only confirmed official on the seventh floor during those first weeks of the Reagan administration.

DN: Well, Secretary Haig was confirmed after five days, but it was another month before Walter Stocssel was confirmed as my successor. I was also acting secretary for a few days when Haig went to Europe. Fortunately, Haig threw out the original transition team and appointed three serious men, so we were able to manage the process smoothly enough.

FSJ: You've had a wide-ranging career with several phases — you've been a journalist, a diplomat, a policy-maker, an administrator and teacher, and a writer and scholar. When you resigned from the Foreign Service in 1981 after 34 years and became dean of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, was that transition bumpy for you?

DN: It was an interesting transition because I came to realize that the academic world is a culture unto itself, just as the Foreign Service is, and it's a culture where those without a Ph.D. are regarded, at least initially, the way FSOs often regard political appointees. But during my time at Georgetown, I learned that anyone who wants to move from the Foreign Service into an academic career without having all the academic credentials should be good at fund raising.

FSJ: You've written extensively about U.S. diplomacy and have taught it for a long time now. Are you optimistic about the future of the profession?

DN: This is a discouraging period for U.S. diplomacy and the State Department in general because of the budgetary situation. The Foreign Service and diplomacy generally are changing just as the world is changing. I was recently on a commission at the National Academy of Sciences studying, at the department's request, the question of integrating science, technology, and health issues into U.S. foreign policy-making. (See the January 2000 *FSJ*, pp. 16-17.) It's amazing how many issues we are facing today, and will continue to face, that have a scientific and technological component that we never paid much attention to. It's somewhat like economics, which took a long time to become

*If you want to succeed
in academia without all
the credentials, you
should be good at
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accepted in the Foreign Service as a major issue. The State Department is going to have to take an active lead in science issues if it doesn't want to lose out to all the other agencies with a capacity in these areas.

The United States as a country is feeling its way in a multipolar world, and it's a time when I think our diplomatic strength is more than ever needed, which is why it's tragic

that we can't get more support in Congress.

FSJ: Whenever you talk to bright young people today, college graduates, do you recommend the Foreign Service to them as a career?

DN: I've had many students ask me that, but I ask them one question first: What is your objective? Do you want to contribute as a working diplomat to improving U.S. relations with other countries, or do you want to become secretary of State? The Foreign Service is not going to be the right career for the ambitious policy wonk who will be unhappy after two tours when he or she is not already making policy. I also explain to them that the Foreign Service is still a career much like the military, in which one ideally is prepared to go anywhere in the world. But in a time of two-career families, that is a difficult thing. ■

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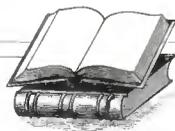
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BOOKS

INTO AFRICA, VIA PERSONAL PROFILES

The New Africa: Dispatches From A Changing Continent
Robert Press, photographs by Betty Press; University Press of Florida, 1999, \$24.95, hardcover, 358 pages.

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

This handsome and inspiring book lives up to the promise of its first sentence: "This book is about human rights and the human spirit in Africa today." True, Robert Press gives politics and, to a lesser extent, economics their due; his first chapter is a succinct yet comprehensive overview of the factors underlying the massive changes Africa has experienced over the past decade. Yet, he does not pontificate about what is best for Africans and does not ignore evidence that might contradict his particular viewpoint. Instead, he lets dozens of remarkable individuals tell what happened in sub-Saharan Africa over the past decade — and why it matters.

Press, a *Christian Science Monitor* foreign correspondent, and his wife, Betty, a photojournalist, lived in Africa from 1987 to 1995. Together they covered just about every part of the continent during that incredibly tumultuous period. For the most part, they focus on countries that either never really made the headlines, like Mali, Togo

Some of the Presses' subjects, like a refugee family who escaped from Rwanda to make a new life for themselves, have triumphed over incredible adversities.

and Kenya, or were briefly in the news and then faded away, their problems largely unsolved, such as Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi.

After an overview of the factors that underlay Africa's post-Cold War transition, Press devotes his first chapter to some remarkable individuals who collectively helped bring democracy — or at least democratization — to much of Africa, beginning in 1990. They range from nomads to urban mothers, from students to soldiers, and their stories effectively challenge the canard that a belief in human rights and self-determination is somehow a Western imposition or otherwise alien to foreign societies.

One of the great strengths of this book is the fact that such profiles run throughout it, with more than a dozen in the final two chapters.

Some of the Presses' subjects, like a refugee family who escaped from Rwanda to make a new life for themselves, have triumphed over incredible adversities. Others, like an HIV-positive Kenyan whom they befriended and who later died, were not so fortunate. But what they all have in common is the willingness to stand up and fight for a cause greater than themselves whatever the odds, be the issue democratization, economic opportunity or the simple freedom to be left alone.

Such faith does not always win the day. Press's third chapter, "The Politics of Ambiguity," skillfully describes the way that Kenya President Daniel Arap Moi and his ruling party have manipulated a system that, on paper, is a multiparty democracy. The president and his cohorts constantly find new ways to split the opposition parties — which collectively could easily oust him — along ethnic and religious lines. Yet, as discouraging as the situation is, Press comments throughout the book on the extent to which democratization, if not necessarily democracy, has spread throughout Africa. He implies that dictatorships, regardless of who is in charge, are no longer meekly accepted in Africa.

Still, the Presses are painfully aware that many Africans still live in largely undemocratic societies and suffer economically and physically from the resulting lack of good governance. The chapters on Somalia and Rwanda — which are stomach-



turningly graphic in places — make that all too clear. While they don't ignore such horror stories, the Presses make a persuasive case that Africa also offers a wealth of less dire stories.

Finally, Betty Press's photographs add immeasurably to the handsome quality of *The New Africa*. They show as much empathy and reporting ability as her husband's text.

Steven Alan Honley is associate editor of the Journal.

HOW WE WON IN VIETNAM

Unheralded Victory

Mark W. Woodruff, *Vandamere Press*, 1999, \$24.95 hardcover, 352 pages.

By SOL SCHINDLER

The dust jacket of *Unheralded Victory* shows a smiling, clean-shaven marine patrol setting off to into the jungle. As anyone conversant with Vietnam War literature knows, this is all wrong. Troops should be shown as weary, grumpy, depressed, and above all, disillusioned. The author, however, who served with F Company, 2nd Battalion, 3rd Marines in Vietnam from December 1967 to December 1968, thinks otherwise. Thus the smiling faces, and his subtitle, *The Defeat of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese, 1961-1973*.

Woodruff supports his point of view by pointing out that the U.S. won every major battle in Vietnam and that when American troops left in 1973, the Viet Cong were a paper organization with very little muscle, the South Vietnamese government

was in charge, the country was free of conflict with only the odd raid or hi-jacking and the economy was growing. Thus, he writes, the U.S. achieved what it set out to do.

Although there are serious gaps in Woodruff's narrative, his chronicle of events is correct. American ground forces, as distinct from advisers, were introduced to counter North Vietnamese army infiltration into South Vietnam. Their purpose was to destroy Viet Cong and North Vietnamese military units, which they did. He even puts the biggest battle of the war, the 1968 Tet Offensive, in a different light. Hailed as a Viet Cong victory by the media because of the fighting that took place within the city of Saigon and around the American Embassy, the offensive proved to be the demise of the Viet Cong. In the two weeks between January 29 and February 11, 32,000 Viet Cong were killed and 5,800 were captured. By the end of the summer, Viet Cong units were being filled with regular North Vietnamese soldiers, with resulting loss of efficiency.

The battle which the media called the siege of Khe Sanh and which the marines called Operation Scotland, best illustrates the difference between the military and media analyses of the war. Khe Sanh was a small marine outpost in the mountainous northeast corner of South Vietnam, not far from Laos and the Demilitarized Zone. For some reason, the North Vietnamese wanted badly to capture it, so began deploying four divisions plus support units around it in late 1967. Eventually, the U.S. Marines had a full three-battalion regiment entrenched there, aided by a small force of Montagnards. Pundits warned of another Dien Bien Phu, but instead the huge concentration of enemy

troops around Khe Sanh proved lucrative targets for B-52s. The North Vietnamese suffered very heavy casualties, with survivors left to limp back to safe havens in either Laos or North Vietnam. American troops abandoned Khe Sanh four months after the battle.

The 1975 fall of Saigon came after Watergate and after Congress had cut off all military aid to South Vietnam. If the U.S. had provided air assistance, which the South Vietnamese desperately wanted, the history of Vietnam for the past 25 years might have been different.

Thus, Woodruff makes at least an arguable point when he contends that the U.S. won the Vietnam War. His thesis falls apart, however, because he avoids unpleasant facts. The U.S. participation in the Vietnam War was very expensive in both lives and material. In particular, the U.S. mania for body counts, which was initiated by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and slavishly followed by the military, distorted planning and often interfered with operations. True, the North Vietnamese admitted to 1.1 million dead, with the implicit acknowledgment of many more millions wounded, but that didn't stop them from continuing the war. Their heavy losses may have inhibited their actions, but they persevered. What was needed from the U.S. was a strategy of more than just simple attrition.

The Vietnam War will be revisited many times, because of its profound effect on American society. Mark Woodruff has made a contribution to the debate on it by climbing out of the ruts of previous books and by shattering a few of the war's clichés. ■

Sol Schindler, a retired FSO, served with USIS in Vietnam from 1966 to 1967.

SO YOUR KID IS AN ASPIRING ARTISTE?

FOR STUDENTS WHO YEARN TO PERFORM, IN THEATER, DANCE OR MUSIC,
THESE ARE SCHOOLS WORTH KNOWING ABOUT.

BY ANI STOYANOVA

For any parent overseas, distance can make it difficult to find the right American school for a child. For those whose kids seem destined for the performing arts, the task is doubly hard: Auditions and school visits can be impossible to arrange.

To ease this task, *FSJ* has researched some highly regarded performing arts schools — public and private — that you may want to consider.

That's not to say that a youngster with a strong desire to play music, sing, act or dance necessarily needs a specialized school.

For example, Katie Buck, who grew up in the Foreign Service and who graduated in 1999 as a theater major from Wesleyan University, attended Sidwell Friends School, a highly regarded, and nonspecialized, private secondary school. Buck says, "I don't at all regret going to that school, though I wish I'd taken more acting classes. But at that point I wasn't sure I wanted to narrow myself to the arts." Last year, Buck presented her one-woman play, "I-Site," based on growing up as a "third-culture kid," to the Foreign Service Youth Foundation. She is now living in New York City and working in theater and television.

Arguing in favor of a specialized arts school, however, is the limited arts programming that many public schools have nowadays. "When it comes to budget, arts programs are the first to be cut," notes John Mahlmann, executive director of the Music Educators National Conference.

The Big Three

If you do decide that a boarding school specializing in the performing arts is right for your child, you should know that three American boarding schools are often cited for their high quality: Idyllwild Arts Academy in Southern California, Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan, and Walnut Hill School in Massachusetts. All three combine

Ani Stoyanova, the Journal's spring editorial intern, is a student at the University of Sofia, Bulgaria.

intensive training in the arts with college-preparatory academic curricula. And all boast a high percentage of international students.

Idyllwild is located in mountains southeast of Los Angeles and offers grades 8 to 12, enrolling 255 pupils. In addition to dance, music, theater, creative writing and visual arts, the school has an interdisciplinary arts major designed for children "beginning to discover the arts," says Nelms McKelvin, a dean at the school.

Interlochen, in northern Michigan, serves 430 students in grades 9 to 12. Students can major in arts as well as in a more traditional academic program.

Interlochen is also famous for its strong summer program — the Arts Camp — which frequently becomes an introduction to the school for youngsters who later enroll in the academic year program. That's how Tsvetanka Dabova, a pianist from Russia, entered the ninth grade this year. Last year, she applied for the summer camp, sending a tape and an application from St. Petersburg. After successfully completing the summer program, she auditioned for and was accepted by the school.

Walnut Hill, founded in 1893, is an independent coed day and boarding school in Natick, Mass., outside Boston. The school operates on a trimester system, and has 235 students from 35 states and 15 countries. It offers a joint program with the New England Conservatory of Music.

An Intense Experience

Graduates of the three schools have found ready acceptance both at top conservatories and selective universities. Alumni of all three schools have gone on to the Juilliard School, the Peabody Conservatory of Music and Oberlin Conservatory of Music. Others have attended Yale, Columbia, Cornell and New York University.

What's it like attending a specialized school for the arts? Among the many youngsters interviewed for this article, the word used most often was "intense." Most pupils have

(continued on page 54)



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Aspiring Artiste

(continued from page 52)

regular academic classes in the morning, followed by specialized arts classes in the afternoon.

"I found it quite intense," said Elspeth Poole, a cello student at Walnut Hill. "But it is much easier to take the pressure when everyone is dedicated to something similar."

Claudia Tomsa, a pianist from Romania now at Walnut Hill, commented, "The environment is highly competitive and it is also time-consuming. Classes start early in the morning and continue until late in the evening, when we have to practice."

At all three schools, youngsters spoke with enthusiasm about the warm relationships among students and teachers, and about the international student body. More than anything, they say they appreciate being in an environment that supports their artistic interests. Said Johanna Gjersvik, a theater major at Idyllwild, "Everybody here loves the arts and has great respect for each other."

However, not all students necessarily aspire to be full-time performing artists. Says 11th grader Victoria Boss, "The academic program at Interlochen is rigorous; thus, you can keep all doors open, should you decide at some point that you're most interested in chemistry or physics. A lot of my friends consider minoring in music at a normal university."

Admission to the private schools is competitive, and applicants are expected to demonstrate proven ability. Applicants may audition in person, or may send portfolios, videos or audiotapes. Idyllwild and Walnut Hill both hold regular auditions abroad (Interlochen does not). "We have auditions in Germany, Russia, Bulgaria, Japan, Korea, China, Taiwan and South America," said Nelms McKelvain, dean of arts at Idyllwild.

Outstanding Public Schools

In the greater Washington area, there are excellent options for arts *(continued on page 56)*



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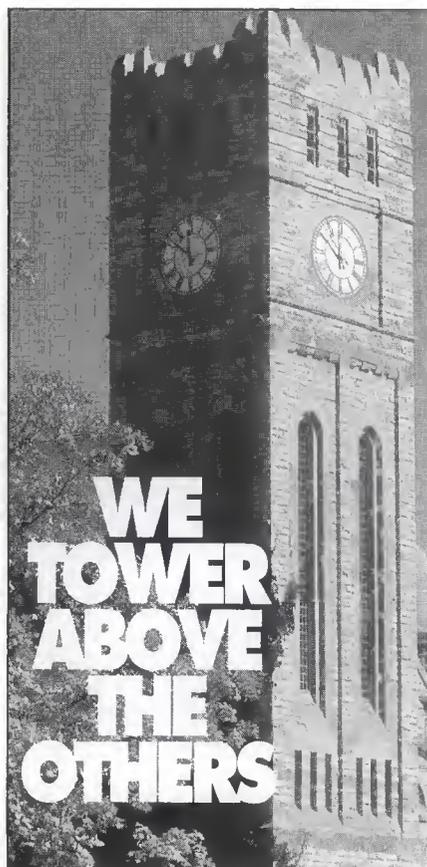
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Aspiring Artiste

(continued from page 54)

education in the public schools.

Probably best known is the District of Columbia's Duke Ellington School of the Arts, in Georgetown. Ellington serves about 500 pupils in grades 9 to 12. Students must audition for placement, and admission is quite competitive. The program includes academic courses in the morning and arts in the afternoon. More than 90 percent of Ellington graduates go on to college.

In Virginia, check out the Governor's School for the Humanities and Visual and Performing Arts at the University of Richmond. It's a high-quality boarding school; all expenses are covered by state and local government. The school also offers gifted Virginia teens summer courses in vocal and instrumental music, theater and dance. The Governor's School also sponsors specialized art programs in many Virginia counties during the school year for talented secondary school pupils.

Another interesting option for young people in the Washington area is the Bethesda Academy of Performing Arts. Not a school but a non-profit community arts organization, it offers academic year and summer programs as well as programs for disabled persons. ■

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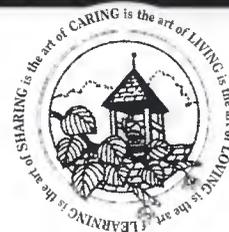
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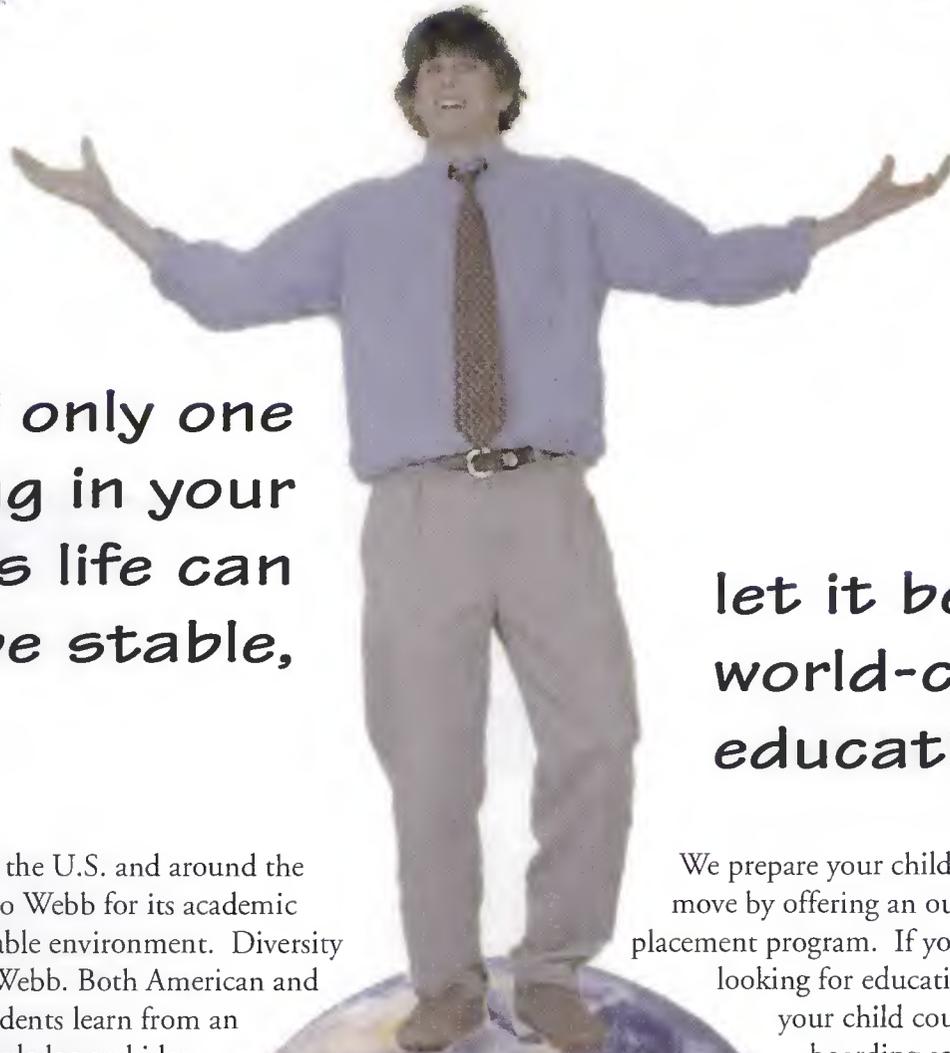
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http://www.state.gov/www/abo_ut_state/schools/index.html

Foreign Service Lifelines
www.aafsw.org

TCK World
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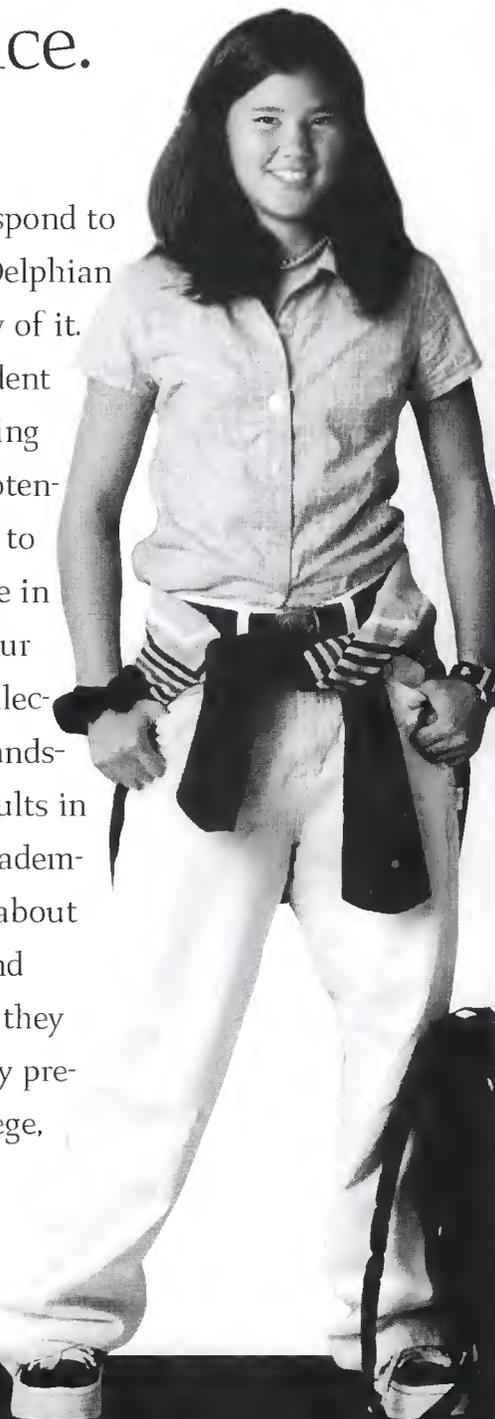


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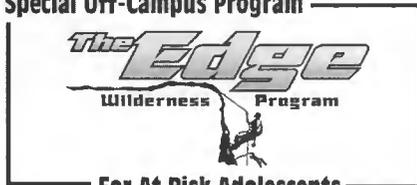
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Stuart Hall

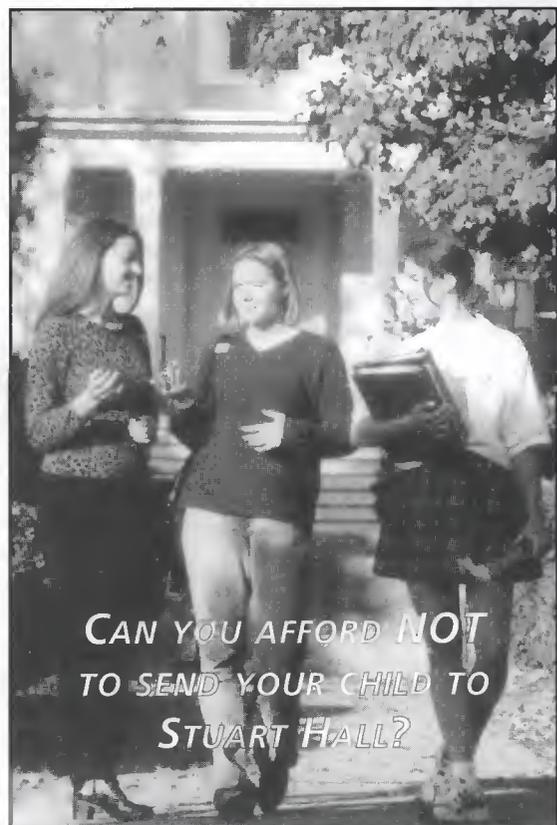
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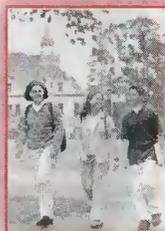
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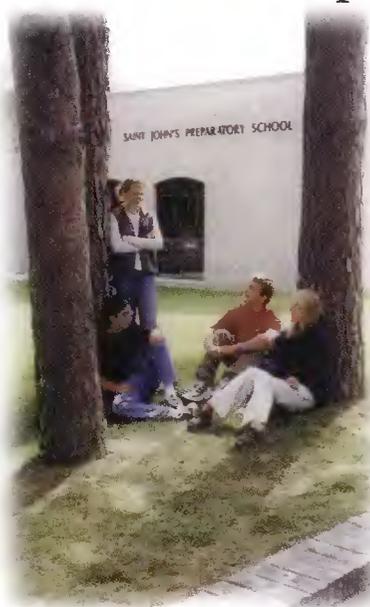


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Schools at a glance

See our schools at a glance online go to www.afsa.org click on marketplace tab. All with links to websites of each school listed below.

Schools & Universities	Enrollment	Gender Distribution, M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Distance to Int'l Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dom's w/Email-phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Tuition
Brentwood College School	420	64/36	78	25	8-12	N	N	42 miles	Y	Y	N	\$15,805
Calvert School	Homeschooling program K-8th for more information, go to www.calvertschool.org											
Cardigan Mountain	199	All boys	90	25	6-9 ³	N	Y ⁴	1.5 hrs.	Y	Y	Y ⁵	26,520
Christchurch School	200	85/15	66	10	8-12	Y	NA	2 hrs.	Y	Y	N	21,250
Colorado Rocky Mountain	173	53/47	60	9	9-12	Y	Y	185 miles	Y	N	Y	24,500
Delphian School	250	50/50	60	9	3-23	N	N	50 miles	Y	Y	special arrangement	24,748
Fountain Valley School	225	52/48	62	15	9-12	Y	N	5 miles	Y	Y	Home stay	25,300
Foxcroft School	157	All girls	85	18	9-12, PG	Y	N	30 miles	Y	Y	Y	25,900
Gables Academy	35	66/33	33	10	4-12	N	Y	20 miles	case by case	N	Y	14,400
Gow School, The	145	All boys	100	12	7-12, PG	N	all LD	20 miles	Y	Y	N	28,450
Grier School, The	163	All girls	100	40	PK-12	Y	Y	120 miles	Y	N	Y	20,250
Hawaii Preparatory Academy	340	49/51	50	25	K-12, PG	Y	N	35 miles	Y	Y	N	22,800
Leysin American School	300	50/50	100	60	9-13	N	N	90 miles	Y	Y	N	24,000
Linden Hall	120	all girls	75	20	6-12, PG	Y	Y	30 miles	NA	Y	Home stay	23,540
Linden Hill	46	All boys	100	12	10-17 yrs.	N	Y	70 miles	Y	Y	Y	33,900
Masters School	310	48/52	50	20	9-12	N		20 miles	Y	Y	N	25,950
Marine Military Academy	330	All boys	100	10	8-12, PG	NA	N	1 mile	N	N	Y ²	15,600
Mercersburg Academy	422	57/43	80	18	9-12, PG	Y	N	90 miles	Y	Y	N	25,900
Miss Hall's School	130	All girls	70	18	9-12	Y	NA	1.25 hrs.	Y	N	N	25,500
Oakwood Friends School	130	50/50	50	4	6-12	N	Y	35 miles	N	N	N	24,350

¹K-12 day, 6-12 boarding; ²Thanksgiving, Christmas, Spring Break; ³average to well-above average ability, accelerated classes; ⁴with mild learning disabilities; ⁵Int'l students can stay on campus; ⁶general studies, college preparatory, ESL; ⁷School: 17581/College: 10230; ⁸no special program; ⁹w/ host family

Continued on page 68



Schools at a glance

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Oakland School	135	80/20	75	6	8-14 yrs.	N	LD	70 miles	N	N	N	\$27,250
Oregon Episcopal School	720	50/50	25	60	PK-12	Y	Y ^a	15 min.	Y	Y	N ^b	25,175
Pomfret School	300	53/47	75	10	9-12, PG	Y	N	60 miles	Y	Y	N	27,200
Putney School, The	198	43/57	76	8	9-12, PG	Y	N	100 miles	Y	Y	Y	25,750
Randolph Macon Academy	457	70/30	84	13	6-12, PG	Y	Y	60 miles	Y	Y	2	16,000
Sandy Spring Friends School	492	49/51	20	15	PK-12	Y	N	20 miles	Y	N	N ⁹	21,625
Shattuck - St. Mary's School	300	63/37	80	15	6-12, PG	Y	N	45 min.	Y	Y	N	21,100
St. John's North Western Military Academy	393	All boys	100	20	7-12	Y	N	45 mins.	Y	Y	N	21,350
St. John's Preparatory	250	54/46	36	18	7-12, PG	Y	boys-N girls-Y	90 mins.	Y	boys-N girls-Y	N	17,758
Stony Brook	www.stonybrookschool.org											
Stuart Hall	140	27/73	60	8	6-12	Y	N	120 miles	Y	Y	Y	21,900
Upper Canada College	675	all boys	10	6	10-IB	N	Y	8 miles	Y		N	18,228
Vanguard School	129	66/34	95	26	PG	N	only	1 hr.	Y	Y	N	27,800
Vermont Academy	256	67/33	69	7	9-12, PG	Y	Y	2 hrs.	Y	common rooms	N ⁹	26,300
Washington Int'l School	745	45/55	0	33	PK-12	N	N	5 mins.	N	No dorm	N	15,400
Webb School, The	270	50/50	50	15	7-12, PG		N	45 min	Y	Y	Y	22,000
West Nottingham	125	67/33	75	20	6-12	N	Y	50 miles	Y	Y	Y	29,460
Westover School	190	All girls	70	12	9-12	Y	N	45 min	Y	Y	Y	25,800
Columbia University	Continuing Education by Internet: http://dlp.tc.columbia.edu											

¹K-12 day, 6-12 boarding; ²Thanksgiving, Christmas, Spring Break; ³average to well-above average ability, accelerated classes; ⁴with mild learning disabilities; ⁵Int'l students can stay on campus; ⁶general studies, college preparatory, ESL; ⁷ School: 17581/College: 10230; ⁸no special program; ⁹ w/ host family

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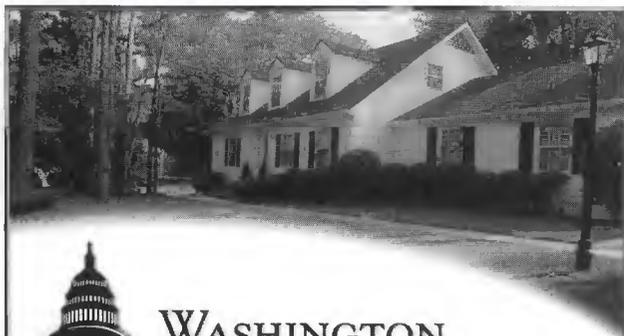
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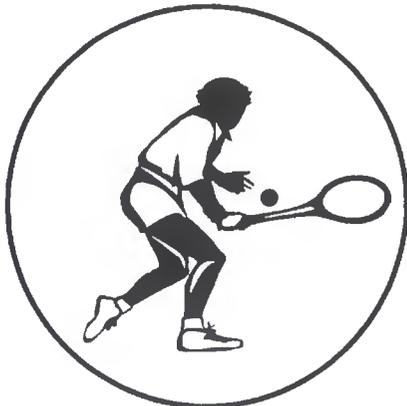


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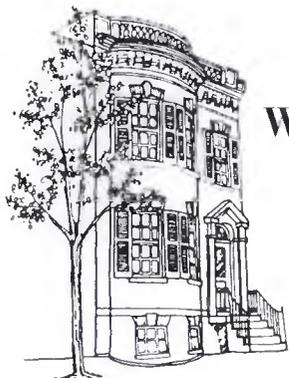
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Death at a Distance

BY KELLY KING HOWES

The last time I saw Barbara Kloeck-Jenson, she was standing in my carport in Maputo, Mozambique, holding her two-year-old daughter, Zoe. I was crying because I was leaving and she was staying.

Mozambique was the country that had given me my adopted daughter. It was my first overseas post, where I had learned that being a Foreign Service spouse means leaving friends like Barbara. Living overseas is like floating in an alien universe, but surprisingly strong tethers link the friends floating with you. Sometimes the links are stretched or severed, but while they last they are steady.

For six months, Barbara and I saw each other nearly every day as we shared the wonders and frustrations of raising our baby girls in an unfamiliar place. Shortly after she arrived as the spouse of a Fulbright scholar, we set off together down Avenida de Zimbabwe, Maputo's main street. I pushed my daughter, Olivia, in a stroller. Zoe, Barbara's daughter, was ensconced on her back in a high-tech baby carrier. The carrier would have been the envy of parents in Madison, Wisc., the Kloeck-Jenson's home, but in Mozambique it was viewed with profound curiosity. Olivia and I drew our own share of curiosity. I'm white and my daughter is black, a combination seen even less in Africa than in the U.S. The four of us made a quirky procession.

Kelly King Howes now lives in Taipei. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*Living overseas
is like floating
in an alien
universe.*



My relationship with Barbara took shape around our daughters. As we sat on living room floors, Olivia and Zoe would chase each other, yelling lustily and sometimes inciting our dog, Barney, to join the fray. Barbara and I drank coffee and Diet Coke and learned everything about each other. My memory comes in odd snatches: Her husband, Scott, proposed to her at the National Zoo in Washington, D.C. She thought that *Lion King's* opening scene was cinematic perfection. In private, I rolled my eyes about the fact that she expressed her devotion to her daughter by wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with Zoe's picture.

Then, just like that, it was over. Life in the Foreign Service takes us careening on a crazy path around the globe, but every so often we come up close to someone and look into their eyes for a moment before heading off in another direction. So long, Barbara, opinionated idealist and animal lover. So long Zoe, fearless pool jumper and budding artist. So long, Scott, of the wry sense of humor and Minnesota accent. We exchanged a few letters, then only

Christmas cards. Barbara gave birth to a son, Noah. Scott landed a job at USAID. The Kloeck-Jensons returned to Mozambique, where, Barbara reported, they were living in one of the "big, fancy houses" they'd gently scorned four years earlier. Barbara had started a preschool in Mozambique. She sent a picture of blonde, grinning Noah with Zoe, who had the long braids of a "big girl."

Then came another hard lesson of Foreign Service life: Cataclysmic events happen at a distance, through a fog. Just before we were to depart Washington for our third post, we received an e-mail telling us that all four Kloeck-Jensons had died in a car accident in South Africa. There were words on the computer screen, but how could they be true?

I have a copy of the program from the memorial service held in Maputo. I sent a condolence note to Scott's parents and received a reply card printed with a photo of the four of them. Still, the Kloeck-Jensons' absence from our lives seems just as theoretical as the presence, somewhere in the world, of friends we'll probably see again. At my new post, I am forming the same kind of precious, soon-to-be-fractured relationships that I shared with Barbara. I tell my new friends that I once knew someone who was a vegetarian, and when she played *This Little Piggy* with her daughter changed the words to "this little piggy ate pizza." Nobody knows I'm talking about Barbara. ■



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